ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

THE SHARQI ARCHITECTURE OF JAUNPUR;

WITH

NOTES ON ZAFARABAD, SAHET MAHET AND OTHER PLACES IN THE N.-W. P. & OUDH.

By DR. A. FÜHRER, PH.D., and EDMUND W. SMITH, ARCHITECT.

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E.P.E

OF

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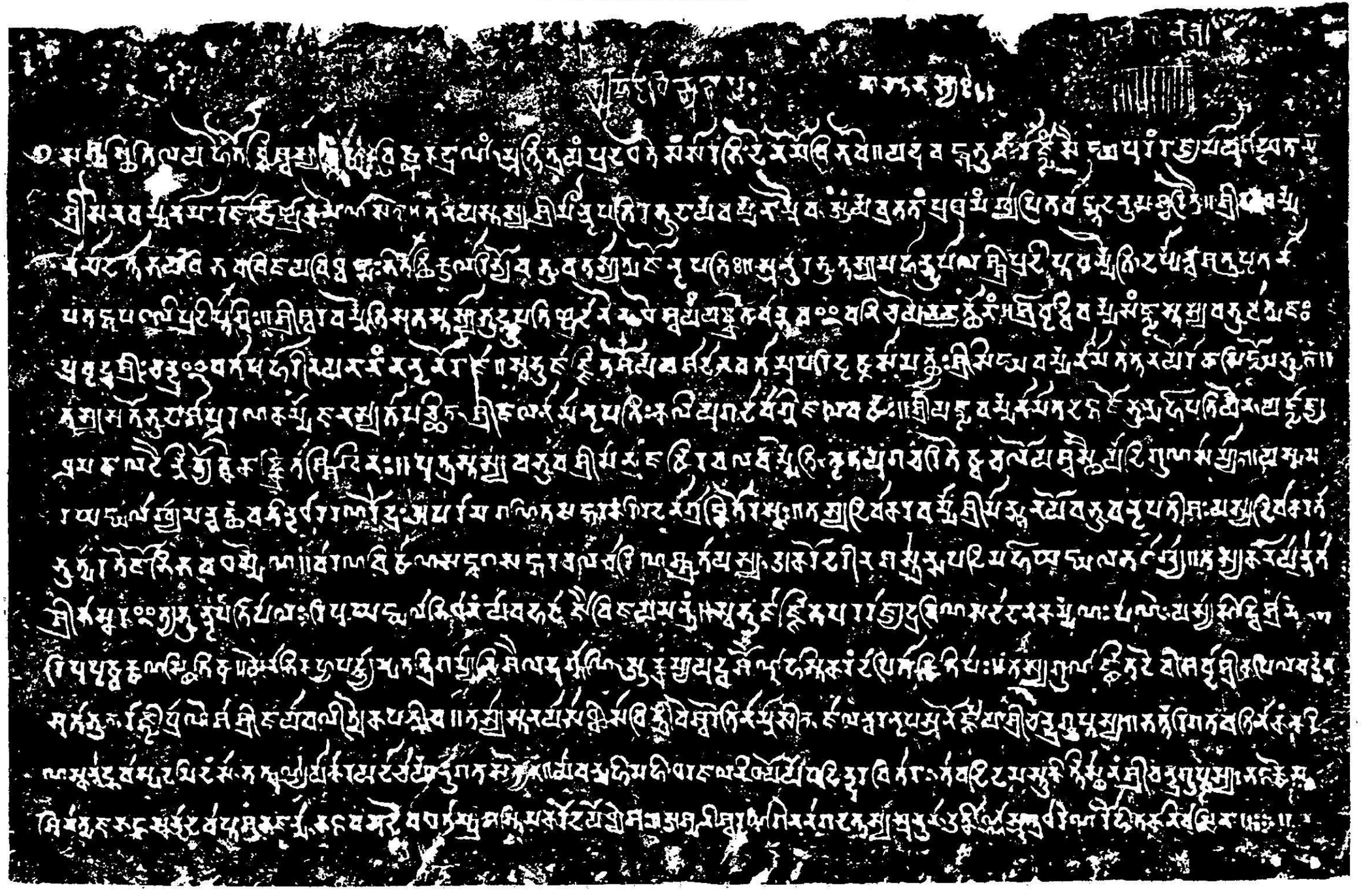

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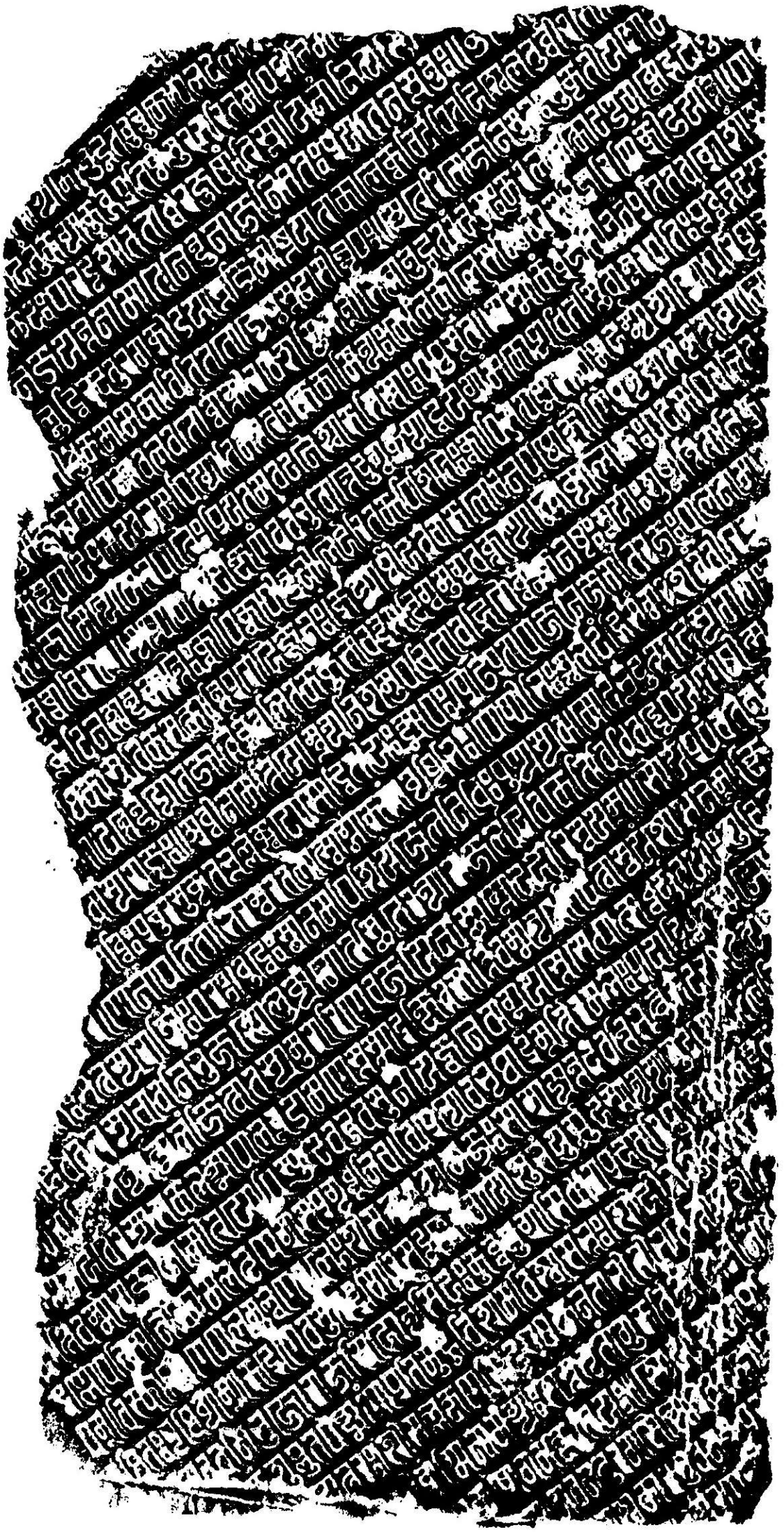

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9. His son was the illustrious *mahârâja* Shaṇḍa, who was very brave, a mine [79] of all virtues, proud and powerful. He quickly dispersed, surrounded and burnt the kings, like thorns, conquered by the strength of his arm his own kingdom which had fallen off, and made the earth subject to one (*royal*) parasol.

10. In the jail of this sovereign, people incessantly heard the harsh clinking of the chains which were attached to the tender feet of the wives of his enemies.

11. From this famous (*prince*) there sprang this (*present*) king called Śubhatuṅga, the same whom people praise in song by his other name Akâlavarsha.

12. His deeds resemble those of Kṛishṇa; for, having killed his foes, he bears the kingdom for the welfare of the (*four*) castes and the earth with his arm, like Kṛishṇa.[80]

13. Through his favour [81] great fortune came to the race of Brahmavaka; (*this fortune*) is incessantly and openly proclaimed by the great poets of later times.

14. From this ocean-like race there arose the illustrious . . . Kumbaḍi, and from him the illustrious Degaḍi, the destroyer of the pride of his enemies; the eternal fame which he, alone (*but*) without fear, obtained by destroying the elephants of many princes, pervaded the battle-fields, as that of a lion does the forests.

15. As the sun from Kaśyapa, there sprang from him the fierce and illustrious Râjahaṁsa, whose far-reaching and hard hands (*or hot rays*) overcame all kings (*or mountains*) and who was rising daily; he who, like Pârtha (*Arjuna*), knew how to destroy his foes, led fickle fortune, who was wandering somewhere else, again to his own beautiful temple of Śaṁbhu (*Śiva*).[82]

16. Like (*Hanumat*) the son of the wind, there was born the illustrious Dhavalappa, who conquered all his enemies, whose name was well-known, and who whitened the world with his fame.

17. Becoming (*as it were*) a lion and being desirous of fame, he quickly killed the enemy and restored to his master the province, which (*this unnamed enemy*) had taken.

18. From him came Prachaṇḍa, who was eager for fame in war, and the spotless Akkuva, who is renowned on earth by his sword.

19. Sella-Vidyâdhara[83] also, whose hands were as graceful as the *śelu* (*plant*), adorned his race with fame by killing his enemies in battle.

20. The illustrious Vallabharâja Akâlavarsha possesses seven hundred and fifty villages, which are designated by (*their chief-town*) Śrî-Harshapura.

(Line 31.) He informs all who shall come (*to this village*) :—gracious princes, great vassals, ministers, commanders of the army, heads of districts and great men,—

(L. 33.) "Be it known to you that, while in these seven hundred and fifty (*villages*) of Śrî-Kheṭaka, Harshapura, and Kâsadraha, the illustrious Chandragupta was the *daṇḍanâyaka* of the *mahâsâmanta* Prachaṇḍa, who has obtained the five *mahâśabdas*, I gave as a donation the village of Vyâghrâsa, which is included in the ten (*villages*) of

[79] On account of the metre, *âkâra* is used for *âkara*.

[80] This verse alludes to the real name of the king, *viz.* Kṛishṇa.

[81] Literally: "through the power of his feet."

[82] The meaning of the second half of this verse seems to be, that Râjahaṁsa dedicated the booty of his warlike expeditions to a temple of Śiva which he himself had built.

[83] This person seems to have been a brother of Prachanda and Akkuva.

Râriddhâ, which belong to the eighty-four (*villages*) of Karpaṭavâṇijya, which are included in the seven hundred and fifty (*villages*) of Śrî-Harshapura, together with its rows of trees, together with (*the right to*) punishment and (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, up to its boundaries, together with its timber, grass, wells and tanks, together with its enjoyments and shares, together with its gold, defined by its four boundaries, together with its pasture and straw ;— the boundaries are (*here*) written: on the east, the village of Panthoḍâ and Vitkhâvallî; on the south, the village of Keraḍavallî and the village of Araluvaka;[84] on the west, Nâvâlikâ and Apûvallî; on the north, the village of Ambâüñcha ;—the village of Vallûrikâ, thus defined by its four boundaries, to the *brâhmaṇa* Brahmabhaṭṭa, who is the son of Vavva, lives at Bhaṭṭa (!), belongs to the Bharadvâja-*gotra* and studies the Vâji-Mâdhyaṁdina (*śâkhâ*), after having bathed, with a libation of water, in order (*to enable the donee to perform*) the *bali, charuka* and *vaiśvadeva*. Therefore, all future rulers shall preserve and assent to the charitable gift which was given by us, without obstructing us."

(L. 44.) And the saint Vyâsa has said:— [Here follow twelve of the customary imprecatory verses which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 59). This is the signature of the illustrious Akkuka, the son of the illustrious Dhavalappa. *Śaka-saṁvat* 832, on *Mahâ-vaiśâkhî*, (*i.e.*) on the full-moon in the bright half of *Vaiśâkha*, (*the above-mentioned village*) was given, with the exception of previous gifts to temples and to Brâhmaṇas. This edict was written by the noble (*kula-putraka*) Ammaiyaka, the son of Nemâditya. What syllable in this (*document*) is too few or too many, all that is valid; for even a man who resembles Vyâsa is liable to make mistakes. This is the signature of the illustrious Chandragupta.

IX.—TWO CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TRIŚIRAPALLI ROCK.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.,

Epigraphist to the Archæological Survey, Southern India.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on two pillars in a rock-cut cave not far from the summit of the well-known rock at Triśirâpaḷḷi (Trichinâpaḷḷi). They are both somewhat worn. The left pillar was covered by a modern wall, which the temple authorities temporarily removed at the request of the Collector, W. A. Willock, C.S. Each of the two pillars bears four Sanskrit verses. Besides, the lower part of the left pillar bears a few unintelligible Sanskrit words and a much defaced inscription in old Tamil characters.

The two inscriptions record that a king Guṇabhara, who bore the birudas—Purushottama, Śatrumalla and Satyasaṁdha, constructed a temple of Śiva on the top of the mountain and placed in it a *liṅga* and a statue of himself. Each of the two pillars mentions the river Kâvîrî, *i.e.* the Kâverî, on whose banks Triśirâpaḷḷi is situated,

[84] Compare the village of Araluäṁ in the Ilâo grant of Dadda II., *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, p. 117.

and refers to the Choḷa country. On the left pillar the Kâvîrî is called 'the beloved of the Pallava'; this means in prose that a Pallava king ruled over the country along the banks of the Kâverî river. This allusion and the fact, that the characters of the two pillar inscriptions remind us of those of the Pallava inscriptions at Mâmallapuram and Kâñchîpuram, make it very probable that Guṇabhara was a Pallava prince who ruled over the Choḷa country.

A.—PILLAR TO THE LEFT.

TEXT.

[1] कावीरीन्नयनाभिरामसलिलामारा-
[2] ममालाधराम् देवो वीक्ष्य नदीप्रियः
[3] प्रिय[गु]णामप्येष[1] रज्येदिति [।×][2] साशं-
[4] का गिरिकन्यका पितृकुलं हित्वेह मन्ये गि-
[5] [रौ] नित्यन्तिष्ठति पल्लवस्य दयितामेतां ब्रु-
[6] वाणा नदीम् ॥ [१×] गुणभरनामनि राजन्यनेन लि-
[7] ङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि ज्ञानम् [।×] प्रथताच्चिराय लोके वि-
[8] पक्षवृत्तेः परावृत्तम् ॥ [२×] चोळविषयस्य शैलो
[9] मौलिरिवायं महामणिरिवास्य [।×] हरगृहमेत-
[10] ज्जगतिस्तदीयमिव शांकरं ज्योतिः ॥ [३×] शिला[ख]रे-
[11] ण जनिता सत्यसन्धस्य भौतिकी [।×] मूर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिम-
[12] यी चास्य कृता तेनैव शाश्वती ॥ [४×] निष्कृ[ष्य] चला [स]-
[13] मधायि [गुणभ]रे भक्तिः * *

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Being afraid that the god who is fond of rivers (*Śiva*), having perceived the Kâvîrî, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love (*with her*), the daughter of the mountain (*Pârvatî*), has, I think, left her father's family and resides permanently on this mountain, calling this river the beloved of the Pallava (*king*).[3]

(2.) While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the liṅga, let the knowledge which has turned back from hostile (*vipaksha*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this liṅga![4]

(3.) This mountain resembles the diadem of the Choḷa province, this temple of Hara (*Śiva*) its chief jewel, and the splendour of Śaṁkara (*Śiva*) its splendour.

(4.) By the stone-chisel a material body of Satyasaṁdha[5] was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.

[1] ष looks like प .

[2] In the transcripts, a small star × attached to a mark of punctuation, letter, or numeral in square brackets [ ], indicates that it did not exist in the original, but has been supplied.—Ed.

[3] Pârvatî calls Kâvîrî the wife of another, in order to prevent Śiva from coveting her.

[4] This whole verse has a double entendre. It contains allusions to the Indian logic (*tarkaśâstra*), in which *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition, *liṅga* the predicate of a proposition and *vipaksha* an instance on the opposite side.

[5] Satyasaṁdha must have been a *biruda* of Guṇabhara. A statue of the king is also alluded to in the first verse on the right pillar.

B.—PILLAR TO THE RIGHT.

TEXT.

[1] शैलेन्द्रमूर्द्धनि शिलाभवने विचित्रे
[2] शैलीन्तनुं गुणभरो नृपतिर्विधाय [।×]
[3] स्थाणुं व्यध[त्त] वि[धि]रेष यथार्थसंज्ञं
[4] स्थाणुः स्वयञ्च सह तेन जगत्सु जातः [॥ १×]
[5] गृहमकृत शत्रुमल्लो गिरिन्द्र[6]कन्या-
[6] पतेर्गिरावस्मिन् [।×] गिरिशस्य गिरिश-
[7] [सं]ज्ञामन्वर्थीकर्तुमर्त्यपतिः ॥ [२×]
[8] विभूतिञ्चोळानां कथमहमवेक्षे-
[9] य विपुलां नदीं वा कावीरीमवनिभवनाव-
[10] स्थित इति [।×] हरेणोक्तः प्रीत्या विभुरदिश-
[11] दभ्रंलिहमिदम्मनुप्र[ख्यो राज्ये] गरिभवन-[7]
[12] मस्मै गुणभरः ॥ [३×] निर्म्मापिता[मिति मुदा]
[13] पुरुषोत्तमेन शैलीं हरस्य तनुमप्रति-
[14] मामनेन [।×] कृत्वा शिवं शिरसि [धा]रयतात्म-
[15] संस्थमुच्चैःशिरस्त्वमच[लस्य] कृतं कृता-
[16] र्थम् ॥ [४×]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) When king Guṇabhara placed a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple on the top of the best of mountains, he made in this way[8] Sthâṇu (*Śiva*) stationary[9] and became himself stationary (i.e., *immortal*) in the worlds together with him.

(2.) King Śatrumalla built on this mountain a temple of Giriśa (*Śiva*), the husband of the daughter of the king of mountains, in order to make the name Giriśa (i.e., *the mountain-dweller*) true to its meaning.

(3.) After Hara (*Śiva*) had graciously asked him: "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Choḷas or the river Kâvîrî?"—king Guṇabhara, who resembled Manu in his manner of ruling, assigned to him this mountain-temple which touches the clouds.

(4.) Thus having joyfully placed on the top (of the mountain) a matchless stone-figure of Hara (*Śiva*), which he caused to be executed, that Purushottama, who bore Śiva fixed in his mind, made the loftiness of the mountain fruitful.

[6] Read गिरीन्द्र.
[7] Read गिरिभवन.
[8] Literally: 'this was the way.'
[9] Literally: 'he made Sthâṇu (i. e., *the stationary one*) one whose name was true to its meaning.'

X.—BADÂUN STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKHANAPALA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

This inscription was found in August 1887, in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Badâun,[1] the chief town of the Badâun District of the North-Western Provinces, whence it has been removed to the Lucknow Museum.

The writing covers a space of about 3 feet broad by 1 foot 6 inches high, but the inscription is not complete now. All along the top, on the proper left side all the way down, and at the left side of the bottom, portions of the stone are broken away. But the *aksharas* which in consequence are missing on the left side are few, and can in almost every case be easily supplied; and at the top probably only one or two lines are lost, containing little more than the customary blessings and verses in honour of some deity, in the present case, probably Śiva; and the introductory historical portion of the inscription, at any rate, appears to be complete. Nor does anything of importance seem to have been lost in the concluding lines, in the verses which either refer to the composer of the inscription or express the usual wish that the temple, the erection of which is recorded here, may last for ever. Excepting about half a dozen *aksharas* at the beginning of the last line, what remains of the inscription is well preserved, and may be read with certainty.

The average size of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$, and is somewhat less in the four or five bottom lines. The characters are Devanâgarî of about the 12th or 13th century A.D., and the inscription was engraved by the two artizans Gôge and Jîlhe (line 23). The language is Sanskṛit, and excepting what possibly is a date, at the beginning of line 23, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses were, it appears, composed by the poet Govindachandra, who is described as the youngest of the five sons of Gaṅgâdhara (himself the son of the sage Sômêśvara, a resident of Âhâḍegaḍha) and his wife Sûlhâ, a daughter of the learned Paraśurâma (lines 21—22). The inscription is remarkably free from minor errors, and in respect of orthography I therefore have only to note that *ba* is represented by the sign for *va* everywhere except in the word *ârabdha* in line 23.

The inscription possibly, at the beginning of line 23, contains a date which at present, unfortunately, I am unable to make out from the impression submitted to me. Certain it is that it refers itself to the reign of a prince, Lakhaṇapâla, and that it records the erection of a Śiva-temple at the place, it may be presumed, where the inscription was discovered, and which is called here Vodâmayûtâ (lines 1 and 11). And from these two points of view the inscription may be conveniently divided into two portions, the first of which, extending to near the end of line 7, gives the genealogy of Lakhaṇapâla, while the second part, comprising about lines 8—20, has reference to the founder of the temple and his spiritual predecessors. Of this latter portion it is sufficient to give

[1] In the inscription, the place is called Vodâmayûtâ (lines 1 and 11) and described as "the town of Bharata" (line 20.) Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 1, states that, according to the Brâhmans, its original name was either "Bedamau" or "Bedamâya." [Conf. *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, vol. V, pp. 157 to 160. It is also written Badâyûn.—J. B.]

an abstract of the contents; regarding the prince Lakhaṇapâla and his ancestors, the writer of the inscription expresses himself as follows :—

(L. 1). "[*Here* [2]] where the rising of the whole assemblage of evils is far removed by the floods of water of the river of heaven, [3] [*there is*] the town Vodâmayûtâ, ornamenting the land named Pañchâla, (*and*) protected by the arms of all the famous princes born in the Râshṭrakûṭa family. Radiant with prosperity, inasmuch as its enemies were feeble and the excellent well-disposed persons in it many, ornamented with the best of horses, (*and*) surrounded by trees resembling the trees of paradise, pleasing with its lofty spotless [temples] (*and*) a seat of law-abiding people, this beautiful (*town*) with its collections of excellencies shone like the city of Indra, radiant with the wealth of very many excellent flowers of *mandâra* [4] trees, ornamented with the best of Gandharvas, (*and*) surrounded by *saṁtâna* and *kalpa* trees, pleasing with its lofty pure [habitations] of the gods, (*and*) the seat of the assembly of the immortals."

(L. 2). "There, there was first, endowed with endless excellencies, the lord of men, Chandra, who by the terror of his sword terrified the host of the enemies; whose son Vigrahapâladeva protected the earth, well known among adversaries (*and*) munificent towards supplicants. His son, known by the name of Bhuvanapâla, (*was*) certainly, manifested as it were to the eyes, the law incarnate; when, after having protected the earth, he had gone to heaven, his son Gopâladeva guarded (*the earth*), and when he, the remover of the distress of the people, had assumed the reign, the castes, delighting in their several duties, attained to happiness."

(L. 3). "Afterwards his son Tribhuvana protected the earth, humbling the multitude of enemies (*and in consequence*) endowed with fame. When (*this*) his brother by the decree of fate had gone to heaven, then the same land was ruled over by the prince Madanapâla, in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hambîra's [5] coming to the banks of the river of the gods. Afterwards his younger brother, who destroyed hundred thousands of proud adversaries (*and who was*) munificent (*and*) compassionate, protected the earth, bearing on earth the excellent name of the illustrious Devapâla, a recital of whose deeds might secure victory even to-day."

(L. 5). "(*Then*) his son became king, installed in the place of his father as the illustrious Bhîmapâla, who defeated the difficult-to-be-conquered hostile heroes (*and*) whose excellent body was spotless like gold, a born ruler, causing welfare, devoted to the gods and to Brâhmaṇs. Then there came, to protect the earth, his son, known the world over as the illustrious Sûrapâla, (*who among princes was*) what Indra is in the assembly of the gods, what the moon is in the assembly of the stars, what (*Indra's elephant*) Airâvaṇa is among the choicest of elephants, (*and*) what the lion is among the wild beasts. His son was Amṛitapâla, who, endowed with prowess, frightened all enemies by the sharp sword of his hand, who was devoted to the twice-born, the elders, and the gods, attached to every science, (*and*) the preceptor as it were of all whose weapons deal out stern punishment."

[2] The beginning of this verse, together with the verse or verses which must have preceded it, is broken away.

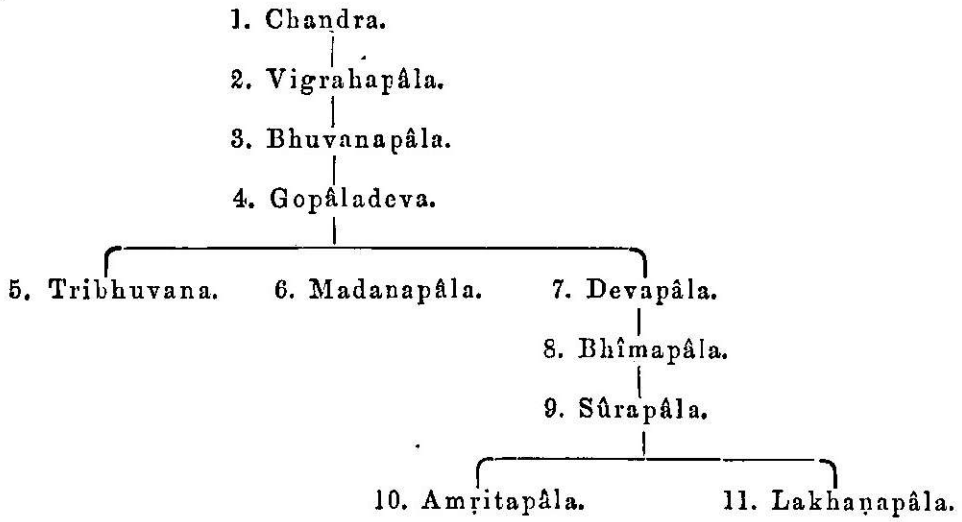
[3] *i. e.*, the Ganges.

[4] The *mandâra*, *saṁtâna*, and *kalpa* trees are trees of Indra's paradise.

[5] The usual spelling of this word is Hammîra; see, *e.g.*, the Royal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vijayachandra and Jayachchandra, line 8, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 7. [For the application of *Haṁmîraḥ* as used on coins, see Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi*, pp. 50n. and 136n.—J. B.]

(L. 7). "May his younger brother, the prince Lakhaṇapâla, who has succeeded him, remain here billions of ages!—he, whose munificence is boundless, (*and*) the multitudes of whose missile weapons, resembling the scorching rays of the sun, drink streams of blood from the bodies of distinguished enemies!"

Put into the form of a tabular statement, the genealogy here furnished to us is as follows:—



Beyond these names, and the statement that these princes belonged to the Râshṭrakûṭa clan (which appears to connect them with the Râṭhôr rulers of Kanauj), and that the town Vodâmayûtâ was ruled over by them, we learn nothing of historical importance from the inscription. Nor have I been able to gather any certain information about these rulers from other inscriptions, or from the historical works which I have consulted. Most of the names, of course, do occur elsewhere, but the only name ending in *pâla*, distinctly connected with the town of Badâun, is that of Mahîpâla, "the Tomar Râja of Dehli, who," according to Sir A. Cunningham,[6] "is said to have built the great fort on which part of the city now stands," as well as a temple, on the site of which the Muhammadans built the present Jâmî' Masjid; and Mahîpâla's name does *not* occur here. The reference to Hambîra (or the Hambîras), in line 4, appears clearly to point to the invasions of the Muhammadans.

After the above historical introduction, the inscription goes on to relate that there was once a Śaiva ascetic, called Varmaśiva, whose home was Aṇahilapâṭaka, and who, after destroying by the efficacy of his *mantras* an idol which had been set up by Bauddhas in Dakshiṇâpatha, and after giving other proofs of his piety and superhuman power in Kaśmîr, on his wanderings also came to Vodâmayûtâ, where, by Devapâla's minister Rulhâ, he was appointed head of a *maṭha* or monastery of the town (lines 8—12). In this office he appears to have been succeeded by another holy and renowned personage, named Mûrtigaṇa, who became the spiritual adviser of the prince Sûrapâladêva (lines 13—15). Mûrtigaṇa's place, again, was taken, during the reign of Amṛitapâla, by his pupil Îśânaśiva, who is described as born in Gauḍa, as belonging to the Vatsabhârgava *gotra*, with the five *pravaras* Bhârgava, Chyavana, Âpnavâna, Aurva, and Jamadagni, and as the eldest son of the twice-born

[6] *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 1.—A prince 'Depâl,' with the date A.D. 1256, and a prince 'Lâkhan Pâl, with the date A.D. 1330, are mentioned, *ib.*, vol. XX, pp. 13 and 14.

Vasâvaṇa, a resident of Siṁhapallî in the Hariyâṇa country. This Îśânaśiva, persuaded of the vanity of worldly affairs, founded the temple of Śiva at which this inscription must be supposed to have been put up originally, and endowed it with (the revenues of) a place called Bhadaṇaulikâ (lines 16—21). This portion of the inscription closes with a verse (line 21) which appears to intimate that the minister Rulhâ, mentioned above, was succeeded in his office by Lakshmîdhara and Jagatpâla, who were as devout workshippers of Śiva as their predecessor.

Of the places and districts, which, besides Vodâmayûtâ, are mentioned in the inscription, Aṇahilapâṭaka is the well-known Aṇhilwâḍa in Western India, and Hariyâṇa the modern Hariâna, described in the *Imperial Gazetteer* as a tract of country in the Hissâr District of the Panjâb. The places Siṁhapallî (l. 16), Bhadaṇaulikâ, and Âhâḍegaḍha (l. 21) I am unable to identify.

Text.[1]

. . . . . .

L. 1. [svaḥsi]ndh[2]-ûdaka-pûra-dûra-gamit-âśêsh-âgha-saṁgh-ôdayê | prakhyât-âkhila-Râshṭrakûṭa-kulaja-kshmâpâla-dôḥ-pâlitâ Paṁchâl-âbhidha-dêśa-bhûshaṇa-karî Vôdâmayûtâ purî || Maṁdârâtiva(ba)hu-prakṛishṭa-sumanaḥ-sampatti-saṁ-[ś]ôbhitâ gaṁdharvv-ôttama-bhûshitâ parivṛitâ saṁtânakalpadrumaiḥ | atyuchch-âmala-dêva-[maṁ ?] ◡◡◡

2. nâ ramyâ sudharmm-âśrayô yâ rêjê guṇa-saṁchayair=iva purî Paurandarî sundarî || Tatr[3]=âditô=bhavad=ananta-guṇô narêndraś=Chandraḥ sva-khaḍga-bhaya-bhîshita-vairi-[vṛi]ndaḥ | prathyarthishu prakaṭitô=rthishu yasya dâtâ kshôṇîṁ raraksha suta-Vigrahapâladêvaḥ || Tasy=â[tma]—[4]

3. Bhuvanapâla iti prasiddhaḥ pratyaksha-lakshya iva mûrtti-dharô hi dharmaḥ | tasmin=prapâlya vasudhâṁ divi saṁprayâtê Gôpâladêva iti tat-tanayô jugôpa | (||) Yatra prajâ-durita-hâriṇi lavdha(bdha)-râjyê varṇṇâḥ sva-karma-niratâḥ sukhitâm=avâpuḥ || (|) tat-sûnur=ânamita-vairi-kadaṁva(ba)kô=taḥ kîrty[5]-a[nv]i—[6]

4. s=Tribhuvanô bhuvanaṁ raraksha || Sva-bhrâtari svar=upayâtavati sva-daivât=s=aiv=âvanir=Madanapâla-nṛipêṇa bhuktâ | yat-paurushât=pravarataḥ surasindhu-tîra-Hamvî(mbî)ra-saṁgama-kathâ na kadâchid=âsît || Tasy=ânujô dalita-dṛipta-vipaksha-lakshô dâtâ dayâlur=avanîm=avati sma paśchât [|×]

5. śrî-Dêvapâla-vara-nâma-dharô[dharâyâ]m=ady=âpi yach-charita-varṇṇanatô jayaḥ syât || Tasy=âtmajô vijita-durjaya-vairi-vîro râj=âbhavat=kanaka-nirmala-sach-chharîraḥ | garbhêśvaraḥ śubha-karaḥ sura-vipra-bhaktaḥ śrî-Bhîmapâla iti tâta-padê=bhishiktaḥ || Tat-saṁbhavô=bhavad=a—[7]

6. vani-pâlanâya śrî-Sûrapâla iti sarvva-jagat-prasiddhaḥ | Śakrô yathâ sura-gaṇê bha-gaṇê śaśâṁka Airâvaṇô gaja-varêshu mṛigêshu siṁhaḥ || Abhavad[8]=Amṛitapâlas=tasya putraḥ pratâpî nija-kara-niśit-âsi-trâsit-âśêsha-śatruḥ | dvija-guru-sura-bhaktaḥ sarvva-[śâ]—[9]

[1] From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.—The first half of the line, preceding that here numbered 1, is entirely gone, and of the second half only the lower portions of the *aksharas* are left.

[2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next six verses.

[4] *i.e.*, *âtmajô*.

[5] Originally *kîrtyâ-*.

[6] *i.e.*, *anvitaa*.

[7] *i.e.*, *atô-*.

[8] Metre, Mâlinî; and of the next verse.

[9] *i.e.*, *-śâstrâ-*.

7. nuraktô gurur=iva sakalânâm=ugra-daṁḍ-âyudhânâṁ || Tad=anu tad-anujâtô âta-dân-âtirêkô nṛipati-Lakhaṇapâlaḥ kalpa-kôṭîr=ih=âstâm | tapa-tapana-kar-âbha-prâsa-vṛiṁdâni yasy=âri-vara-tanushu dhârâ raudhirîr=âpiva(ba)nti || Aṇahilapâṭaka[10]-vasatiḥ prâg=âsît=tâpa—[11]

8. mahâkula-jaḥ | Varmaśivaḥ śiva-mûrtiḥ kîrti-mati-kshâṁti-dhṛiti-dhâma || Yô[12] vâ(bâ)laḥ kila Dakshiṇâpatha-gatô vau(bau)ddha-prati[shṭh]âpitâṁ sampaśyan=pratimâṁ jahâra vidhinâ kên=âpi dûraṁ rushâ | maṁtr-ôchchâraṇa-vêlay=aiva paṭaha-dhvânât=tatô viśrutô vijñâtô guru-gauravân=nija-padê ninyê◡[13].

9. tâṁ maṁtra-vit || Kaśmîrêshu ya îśvar-ârpita-manâ vidvadbhir=abhyarchchitaḥ svâṁ śaktiṁ paridarśya Kaśyapa iva kshmâpâla-mâl-ârchitaḥ | digrudrân=vishamân=vidhâpya sa tatô Rudr-âlayaṁ nirmalaṁ vâṁchh-âhâra-karaṁ maṭhaṁ vyarachayad=bhaṭṭârak-âbhîshṭa-daṁ || Svairêṇ=ôpavanê kvachid=virachita-dhyânâsan-â-

10. dhyâsanô madhyâhnê=pi na tatyajê vara-ta[rô]ḥ[14] prâgvan=nija-chchhâyayâ | tad=dṛishṭvâ dvija-jâtin=âtiśayataḥ kên=âpi saṁsêvitas=tasmai tushṭa-manâ manushya-nikara-svâmitva-lâbhaṁ dadau || Paschâd=adbhuta-tarka-vô(bô)dha-va(ba)latas=tatr=aiva pa[t× |traṁ svayaṁ dattv=ôpârjya yaśaḥ śaśâṁka-ruchiraṁ jitv=ô◡[15]

11. ṭân=vâdinaḥ | chêtaḥ-śuddhi-karêshu tîrtha-nikarêshv=â-vârddhi sisnâ(shṇâ)-sayâ prâdakshiṇyam=idaṁ mahî-talam=aṭan=Vôdâmayûtâṁ gataḥ || Tadâ[16] śrî-Dêva-pâlasya kula-krama-samudbhavaḥ | maṁtrî Rulh-âbhidhânô=bhûd=Iṁdrasy=êva svayaṁ guruḥ || Tatô [17] bhâvi-kshmâbhṛit-sukṛita-[rachana]ḥ pâtra-nikara-pradhâ-

12. nên=ânêna prachura-guṇa-bhṛit=pûjya-charitaḥ | svayaṁ Rulhâ-nâmnâ divira-kulajên=âpta-matinâ gurutvê vinyastô nija-pura-maṭha-svâmya-vishayê || Anâdi[18] Kanhêśvaradêvam=âdau Rulhêśvaraṁ kârayati sma paschât | maṭhaṁ tapasvishv=anukûla-vastu-sampatti dêvâvani-tulyam=êtat || Tad-bhaktimân

13. Mûrttigaṇô guṇ-iṁdrô va(ba)bhûva bhûpâla-hṛidavja(bja)-sûryaḥ | sad-dîkshayâ yasya sa Sûrapâladêvô va(ba)bhûv=âpratima-prabhâvaḥ || Vaśy[19]-âkṛishṭi-mahâ-vidhâna-nipuṇô maṁtr-ôddhṛitau dakshiṇô vipraṁ bhûmipatiṁ tadîyam=athav=âmâtyaṁ sa yaṁ dîkshayêt | taṁ taṁ vô(bô)dha-nidhiṁ [sa]masta-pṛithivî-nâthaṁ pradhânaṁ nṛiṇâṁ sthâṇuṁ

14. pa[t×]triṇam=âtanôt=tarum=iva śrî-Yâjñavalkyô muniḥ || Kâmaḥ[20] kumbhî tadupayamanaṁ[21] tad-bhujastaṁbha-yugmaṁ krôdhô vyâdhir=vvachanam=amṛitan=tasya tach-chhâṁti-hêtuḥ | lôbhaḥ śaṁkê śaśaka-śiśukaḥ kêsarî sa prasiddhaḥ sa trailôkyê kim=iha va(ba)hunâ Śaṁbhu-saṁbhâvan-ârhaḥ || Asyâṁ bhûmau malahara-[ma]-

15. hâtîr[tha]-yâtrâ-prayâtaṁ śrâvaṁ śrâvaṁ vara-yatijanô=nugrahây=aitam=êva | ghrâyaṁ ghrâyaṁ parimalam=ali-vrâta âsâdya sadyô yadvad=dûrâd=vrajati kusumaṁ sêvatê ch=âpy=ajasraṁ | Sva-[22]śishyavara-bhûpâla-bhakti-lavdhê(bdhê)na bhûriṇâ | bhûmi-dânêna yô viprân=pûjayâm-âsa bhûriṇâ || Prakhyâtô[23] Hariyâṇa-dêśa-vasatiḥ śrî-

16. Siṁhapallyâṁ dvijô va(ba)hv-annô guṇavân=Vasâvaṇa iti khyâtaḥ pṛithivyâm=abhût || tasya śrêshṭha-sutaḥ purâkṛita-mahâ-puṇya-prabhâvâd=asau tyaktvâ

[10] Metre, Âryâ.
[11] *i.e., tâpasô.*
[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next three verses.
[13] Perhaps *ninyê, gryatâṁ.*
[14] This certainly is the original reading; but a careful examination of the *akshara rô* shows that it has been altered, and I would suggest the reading *vara-tanuḥ.*
[15] *i.e., jitv-ôdbhaṭân=.*
[16] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[17] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[18] Metre, Upajâti; and of the next verse.
[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[20] Metre, Mandâkrântâ; and of the next verse.
[21] Here, in the original, follow the *aksharas thathatha-thathathatha.*
[22] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

va(ba)ṁdhu-dhana-spṛihâṁ para-pada-prâptyai sishêvê gurum ॥ Niyama-[24] sayama-dhyâna-vyagrô gurôḥ paricharyayâ pratidinam=abhûd=dêv-âbhyarchâ-kṛitê kusum-âkulaḥ । tṛiṇam=iva dhanaṁ matvâ-

17. sa[t×]tva-sthitau [ma]kar-âkaraḥ sva-guru-hṛidayê śishyô bhaktiṁ parâṁ samadarśayat ॥ Gauḍa-jaḥ[25] pravara-paṁchak-ânvitô Vatsabhârgava-sugôtra-maṁḍitaḥ । Bhârgava-Chyavanak-Âpnavânakair=Aurvva-nâma-Jama[da][26]gnibhir=yutaḥ ॥ Aśêsha[27]-śishyêshu parîkshya dîkshitaḥ svayaṁ ya Îśânaśiv=êti kîrttitaḥ । tapasvi-râjyê sva-padê=bhishê-

18. chitô mahîbhujâṁ padmakarô 'bhavad=guruḥ ॥ Tûryâṇâṁ [28] saṁninâdair=madhukara-madhurair=vallakî-sphîta-gîtair=ghaṁṭâ-saṁghaṭṭa-ghôshaiḥ kusuma-parimalair=nartanair=nartakînâṁ । yasminn=atyaṁta-bhaktyâ mahati Girisutâ-vallabhaṁ nitya-rîtyâ bhrâṁtiḥ pâvitrakî syâd=ativa(ba)hala-mahâ-pûjayâ vismitânâṁ ॥ Amṛitapâla-[29] ni—[30]

19. tara-bhaktitô vasumatî gahan=âsya hi kîrttanaiḥ । kim=aparaṁ grahaṇêshu na gaṇyatê katishu sarva-dhanaṁ dvijasât=kṛitaṁ ॥ N[31]=âmî sêvyâ vishama-vishayâ dushṭa-hâlâhal-âbhâ va(ba)ddhaṁ kaṁṭhê chiram=api dhanaṁ prâṇinaṁ n=ânuyâti । saṁsârô=yaṁ sarasa-kadalî-daṁḍa-vach=ch=âpy=asâras=tasmâd=dhêyaṁ sakalam=aparaṁ dharma-tô=nyad=viditvâ ॥ Prâ [32]—[33]

20. da êsha Bharatasya purê hy=akâri yô nâma tuṁgima-guṇêna jagaj=jigâya । yad-râmaṇîyakam=anuttamam=âkalayya Kailâsa-vâsa-vimukhô vasat=îha Śaṁbhuḥ ॥ Anârata- [34]prabhramêṇa [35] bhânô khinnô=si viśrâmya muhûrttam=atra ॥ it=îva saṁñâm=anusaṁdadhânaś=chalat-patâkâ-chchhalatô vibhâvi(ti) ॥ Śivâlayaṁ [36] vinirmâpya pratishṭhâ[ś=cha ?] ◡[37]

21. dhânataḥ । prâyachchhad=Îśânaśivaḥ śâsanaṁ Bhadaṇaulikâṁ । Rûḍhâ Rulhâbhi[dhaṁ]prâpyaŚiva-bhakti-latâ hiyâ । Lakshmîdhara-Jagatpâla-bhavanaiḥ s=aiva varddhitâ ॥ Âhâḍêgaḍha [38] uttamê samabhavat=sûriḥ sa Sômêśvarô yat-pûjâ-paramâ va(ba)[bhûvu]r=akhilâ lôkâḥ sadâ nâgarâḥ । tasy=âśêsha-g[u]ṇâ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — [Ga]ṁgâdharaḥ paṁḍitô vidy-âdâna-rataḥ pa—[39]

22. graha-bhayâd=yô n=aikshata kshatriyân ॥ Tasmai [40] dadau Paraśurâma-vu(bu)dhaḥ sva-putrî[ṁ] Sûlh-âbhidhâṁ Girisutâm=iva Parvvatêśaḥ । tasyâṁ=va(ba)bhûva suta-paṁchatayî kanishṭhô Gôviṁdachaṁdra-vivu(bu)dhaḥ śruti-śâstra-nishṭhaḥ ॥ Surâlay-[41] ârâ[ma] ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ⏑ ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ⏑ । ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —[pra×][śa]stim=êtâm=akarôt=kav-îśvaraḥ ॥×]

23. — — — — — — — [42]॥ Utkîrṇṇ [43]=êyaṁ varṇṇa-vinyâsa-vidbhyâṁ Gôgê-Jîlhê-nâmakâbhyâm=ubhâbhyâṁ । yad-varṇṇ-âlyô bhâṁti pâshâṇa-paṭṭê jâtî-pushp-ârabdha-pûj-ôpamânâḥ ॥ Yâvad [44] = Gaṁgâ sutâ Bhâ[nô] r=yâvad=bhânu-ni[śâ][45] . . . . . [pra]śa[sti×] . . . .

[24] Metre, Hariṇî.
[25] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.
[26] This *akshara* originally was *bha*.
[27] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.
[28] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[29] Metre, Drutavilambita.
[30] *i.e.*, *-niraṁ-*.
[31] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
[32] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[33] *i.e.*, *Prâsâ-*.
[34] Metre, Upajâti.
[35] Read *prabhramaṇêna*.
[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh) ; and of the next verse.
[37] *i.e.*, *vi-*.
[38] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[39] *i.e.*, *pari—*.
[40] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[41] Metre, Vaṁśastha.
[42] Here are about seven illegible *aksharas* which possibly contained a date.
[43] Metre, Śâlinî.
[44] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[45] Here about 45 *aksharas* are broken away.

XI.—THE MADHUBAN COPPER-PLATE OF HARSHA, DATED SAMVAT 25.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of Harsha's lately found grant has been prepared from two paper impressions and an ink print which have been made and furnished to me by Dr. J. Burgess. The plate was discovered in January 1888, by a cultivator whose phoughshare struck against it in a field near Madhuban, a village in pargaṇa Nathûpur of tahsîl Sagrî, thirty-two miles NE. from Âzamgarh, in the North-Western Provinces. It was obtained by Dr. A. Führer from the Collector of Âzamgarh, and is now in the Lucknow Museum.

The inscription is incised on a single copper-plate measuring 20¼ inches by 13¼, and which weighs 8½ lbs, but has no ring or seal. The letters are cut neatly and deeply, so that even in those places where the surface has suffered or the plate is uneven, they have not been quite destroyed or blurred, and the reverse of the impressions shows them distinctly. The alphabet is of the Central Indian type which appears on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's inscriptions from Nepâl, Nos. 3—15, the Kâmavana, Jhâlrâpâṭan, Lakkhâ Maṇḍal and other inscriptions, as well as on the Horiuzi palm-leaves and the Nepalese Cambridge MS. No. 1049.[1] The characters resemble those of the later epigraphic documents named, especially Dr. Bhagvânlâl's No. 15, and those of the MSS., more closely than the earlier inscriptions which are known to fall within or immediately after Harsha's reign. Only a few letters, like *ka* and the subscribed *ña*, show more ancient forms than the palm-leaves. As regards *ka*, the curve of the left-hand limb does not join with the upward stroke on the left of the central vertical line. The subscribed *ña* has in *samâjñâpayati* (l. 10) the older form, which occurs in the Lakkhâ Maṇḍal Praśasti, in *râjñî* (l. 12) and *âjñâ* (l. 15), the form used in the MSS. and Nepal No. 15, differing only slightly in the position. On the other hand a good many signs like *tha*, *śa*, *ha* and the numerals for 20, 5 and 6 show somewhat later or more developed forms than those of the documents quoted. The letter-numerals 5 and 6 resemble exactly the figures of the Cambridge MS. No. 1702, the sign for 20 comes closest to that of the Cambridge MS. No. 1464.[2] Peculiar is a small excrescence on the left-hand of *da*, caused by the letter having been made with two strokes, the triangular form of the subscribed *va*, and the slope in the bottom-lines of the letters *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *va*, *la*, *sa*, and *sha*, which however is not constant. These latter mostly show acute angles, but occasionally nearly right angles.

The inscription is most important for palæographical purposes, and its careful study may be recommended to those scholars who still believe that the epigraphic documents give a clear view of the gradual development of the Indian alphabets. If this Śâsana is compared letter for letter with Dr. Bhagvânlâl's No. 15, it will appear that the latter, which was incised 128 years later, shows a number of *more archaic* forms. If the Madhuban grant had been accessible when I wrote my palæographic essay on the Horiuzi palm-leaves,[3] it would have been much easier to prove that everywhere in India the epigraphic alphabets are in many details retrograde and lag behind the literary ones,

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, pp. 166 ff; *ibid.* vol. X, pp. 34 ff; *ibid.* vol. V, pp. 180 ff; *ante*, p. 10; *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. I, pt. 3; Bendall's *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. from Nepâl.*

[2] See Bendall's *Catalogue*, last table.

[3] *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. I, pt. 3, pp. 63 ff.

and to demonstrate more forcibly the great antiquity of the Japanese and of the oldest Nepalese MSS.

The language of the edict is on the whole good Sanskrit, and there are very few clerical mistakes. As regards the spelling, no distinction is made between *ba* and *va*, no doubt because in the seventh century the pronunciation of the two letters was the same, just as at present. In *samviditaṁ* (l. 10) and *samvat* (l. 18) the letter *m* remains unchanged before *va*, which practice is, though against grammar, very common in the inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries, and due to the pronunciation that in this point too agreed with the modern one. Ungrammatical or unidiomatic forms and words occur exclusively in the technical portion of the grant. Among them may be noted *kuṇḍadhânîvaishayika* (l. 8) for *kuṇḍadhânîvishayântaḥpâti*, *bhuktakaḥ* (l. 10) for *bhuktaḥ*, *sarvaparihṛitaparihâraḥ* (l. 11) for *parihṛitasarvaparihâraḥ*, °*samakâlînaḥ* (l. 11) for °*samakâlikaḥ*. Very interesting is the incorrect form *pramâtâra*, which twice (l. 9 and l. 17) occurs in the middle of a compound. It can only be explained as caused by the influence of the vernacular language which must have had then as now forms in *târ*, spelt *târa*, such as *kartâr*, instead of the Sanskrit words ending in *tṛi*.

The historical information which the inscription furnishes, is throughout most interesting. Great Harsha is known as one of the most eminent kings of India. His life and the lives of his immediate predecessors have been described by Bâṇa and by Hiuen Tsiang. It is therefore most important to see, if what he says about himself and his family agrees with the accounts in the *Śrîharshacharita* and in the *Si-yu-ki*. The result of the comparison is on the whole favourable, especially for Bâṇa. But we obtain some valuable additions to the facts already known. The genealogy of Harsha's family—the Vaiśyas of Sthâṇvîśvara[4]—stands now as follows:—

I. Naravardhana, md. to Vajriṇî-devî.

II. Râjyavardhana I. md. to Apsaro-devî.

III. Âdityavardhana, md. to Mahâsenaguptâ-devî.

IV. Prabhâkaravardhana, md. to Yaśomatî-devî.

V. Râjyavardhana II. VI. Harsha.

The names of the first three kings and those of their queens are new. Both Hiuen Tsiang and Bâṇa omit them, the latter mentioning in their stead the remote founder of the family Pushpabhûti or, as the correct spelling of the name probably was, Pushyabhûti.[5] They seem however to have stood on Mr. Fleet's Sonpat seal of Harsha, on the

[4] Sir A. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 377, is right when he asserts that the French translation of Hiuen Tsiang's *Fei-she* was wrong in making Harsha of the Vaisya caste, and that the intermarriages with the Râjput families of Valabhî and Mâlvâ (*recte* Kanoj) prove him to have been a Kshatriya. I also agree with his identification of Harsha's family with the modern Bais Râjputs. I would add that according to Dr. Kielhorn's MS. B., Patañjali on Pâṇini, IV, 1, 170, (vol. II, p. 269, Kielhorn) mentions a country called Vaiśa, an inhabitant of which is named Vaiśya. Dr. Kielhorn prints, according to the majority of his MSS. Naiśa and Naiśya. Though this proceeding is undoubtedly correct, yet it by no means follows that the reading of the majority of the MSS. is the original one, for *na* and *va* are very similar in the ancient alphabet and the writers or correctors might easily make a mistake in the case of a name which does not occur in other literary works. Hence it is not impossible that the *Mahâbhâshya* has preserved the ancient name of the Bais nobles. The fact that the capital of Harsha's ancestors was Sthâṇvîśvara—Thâṇesar, is fully proved by Bâṇa's statements.

[5] The word *Pushpabhûti* gives no good sense. *Pushyabhûti* is a Nakshatra-name, and means "he to whom Pushya may give welfare." There are numerous similar ancient names like *Ashâḍhabhûti*, *Somabhûti*, *Nâgabhûti*, *Indrabhûti*, and so forth. The modern Devanâgarî MSS. constantly interchange *pa* and *ya*, especially in compound letters.

facsimile of which (l. 5) the end of the name of Prabhâkaravardhana's mother is visible in the words . . . . *naguptâdevyâm utpannaḥ*.[6] As all three receive the simple title *mahârâja*, it follows that their power was not great, and it is even doubtful if they were independent. For in the fourth, fifth, sixth and later centuries of our era the title *mahârâja* was commonly given to great vassals, as the Valabhî and numerous other inscriptions prove. The position of the fourth ruler, Prabhâkaravardhana, was of course different. As he is called *paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *mahârâdhirâja*, he must have been an independent sovereign and a man of some consequence. He no doubt owed his prosperity to his own valour. Bâṇa mentions his successful wars against his northern neighbours, the king of Gandhâra and the Hûnas in the Himâlayas, against the king of Sindh in the west, and against the rulers on his southern frontier, the Gûrjaras, *i.e.*, those of Bhînmâl in Râjputânâ, the Lâṭas, *i.e.*, the Gûrjaras of Bharoch, who no doubt assisted their northern clansmen, and against the king of Mâlava.[7] The same author gives also a number of other data which prove that Prabhâkaravardhana's wars did not lead to permanent conquests of the countries or tribes which he combated and may have vanquished. Thus he tells us that shortly before his death the king sent his eldest son "into the north-country in order to exterminate the Hûnas."[8] Again, we hear[9] that immediately after Prabhâkaravardhana's death the king of Mâlava was powerful enough to destroy the kingdom of the Maukhari Grahavarman, the son-in-law of the ruler of Sthâṇvîśvara, and to slay him, as well as that he intended to attack Thâṇeśar. That does not look as if Mâlava had suffered much at the hands of its foe. Another remark which Bâṇa makes on the same occasion warns us against forming too high an opinion of the extent of Prabhâkaravardhana's kingdom. He says that after Grahavarman's death, his wife Râjyaśrî was thrown into prison at Kanyakubja, and lay there in fetters. Hence Kanyakubja seems to have been the independent state which Grahavarman governed and the kingdom of Sthâṇvîśvara which Prabhâkaravardhana held, cannot have extended far eastwards. It seems probable that his possessions did not go beyond the limits of the kingdom of Thâṇeśar which Hiuen Tsiang describes (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 183ff), and which, as Sir A. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography*, p. 328ff) suggests, probably included portions of the Southern Panjâb and of Eastern Râjputânâ. A state, the circuit of which amounted to 7000 li or 1200 miles, might exercise a considerable influence, keep its neighbours in fear, and afford to a very talented king the means for greater conquests; but its ruler cannot have been a *chakravartin*.

The further description of Prabhâkaravardhana in our grant is obviously

[6] See *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*, vol. III, plate xxxiiB. I owe a set of the plates and of a portion of the text of this unpublished work to the kindness of the author. Since writing the above, I have received Mr. Fleet's text, from which (p. 232) it appears that he has made out the names of the second and third kings and of the third queen.

[7] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 274 (Kaśmîr edition), where the foes of Prabhâkaravardhana are briefly enumerated and in a somewhat different order.

[8] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 326, अथ कदाचिद्राजा राज्यवर्धनं कवचहरं हूनान्हन्तुं .....उत्तरापथं प्राहिणोत् । The issue of this expedition does not seem to have been favourable, as Bâṇa speaks on Râjyavardhana's return of hard fights, but not of booty brought back; see p. 376.

[9] *Śrîharshacharita*, pp. 391-392, पिशाचानामिव नीचात्मानां चरितानि च्छिद्रप्रहारीणि प्रायशो भवन्ति यतो यस्मिन्नहन्यवनिपतिरुपरत इत्यभूद्वार्ता तस्मिन्नेव देवी ग्रहवर्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकमात्मनः सुकृतेन सह त्याजितः । भट्टदारिकापि राज्यश्रीः कालायसनिगडयुगलचुम्बितचरणा चौराङ्गनेव संयता कन्यकुब्जे कारायां निचिप्ता । किंवदन्ती च यथा किलानायकं साधनं मत्वा जिघृक्षुः सुदूरतिरोतामपि भुवमाजिगमिषतीति ॥ The speaker is Saṁvâdaka, a servant of Râjyaśrî. My interpretation of this passage follows Dr. Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 52, who says that Kanyakubja was Grahavarman's capital. Grahavarman and his father Avantivarman are always spoken of by Bâṇa as independent princes.

conventional. The same expressions occur also on the Asirgadh seal of the Maukhari Śarvavarman, and apply there to the first king Harivarman. The only other statement which possesses a historical value is the assertion that Prabhâkaravardhana was "a most devout worshipper of the Sun." Bâṇa, too, says of him (in the *Śrîharshacharita* p. 274)—"And owing to his natural disposition this prince became a worshipper of the Sun." He goes on describing at length the king's daily devotions, adding that the recitation of the *Âdityahṛidaya*—a still much-used *stotra*—formed part of them. The name of Prabhâkaravardhana's queen is likewise known from Bâṇa's poem. In the latter she is however called Yaśovatî, not Yaśomâtî.[10] This vacillation in two contemporaneous sources is another instance showing how little the Hindus care about the form of a name provided the sense remains the same.

Prabhâkaravardhana's eldest son Râjyavardhana ruled, as Bâṇa and Hiuen Tsiang tell us, for a short time only. Soon after his father's death he set out in order to punish the king of Mâlava and to avenge the destruction of Grahavarman. He was successful, defeated and slew his foe. But before he returned home, he followed an invitation of the king of Gauḍa (*Śrîharshacharita*) or Karṇa-Suvarṇa (*Si-yu-ki*),—named, according to one MS. of the *Śrîharshacharita*, Narendragupta and according to the *Si-yu-ki* Śaśâṅka,—who treacherously killed him, because he feared his military ability.[11] The grant in the main confirms these statements. The verse inserted, ll. 6-7, declares that after defeating various kings, Devagupta and others, Râjyavardhana "gave up his life in the mansion of his foe owing to his adherence to a promise." Assuming the correctness of Bâṇa's account (*Śrîharshacharita*, pp. 393-394), according to which the expedition against Mâlava followed immediately after Prabhâkaravardhana's death and Râjyavardhana was slain some months[12] later, it may be suggested that Devagupta was the name of the Mâlava king. The latter certainly was the chief foe, and the conquest of his kingdom is attested by the further statement of Bâṇa that Bhaṇḍin, who had accompanied Râjyavardhana, brought the booty from Mâlava to Harsha when the latter had reached the territory of Kumâra-Bhâskaravarman on his expedition of revenge against the king of Gauḍa.[13] I may add that the word *Mâlava* need not refer here or in the other passages of the *Śrîharshacharita* to the Mâlava in Central India. There was another Mâlava in the Panjâb, much nearer to Thâṇeśar, which may be meant.

Another statement of the grant which possesses some interest is that Râjyavardhana was a Saugata or Buddhist (l. 6). If Bâṇa, himself a Brâhmaṇ, does not

[10] See *e.g.*, pp. 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 281 of the Kaśmîr edition. [Eight of the best MSS. of the *Harshacharita*, however, read 'Yasomatt,' which reading I have adopted in my forthcoming edition of the text and commentary.—A. F.]

[11] The story is told, *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 399, and frequently alluded to, *e.g.*, in the second introductory verse of *Uchchhvâsa*, VI, 376. Hiuen Tsiang's account occurs in Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 210, and St. Julien, *Vie*, p. 112. Sir A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, makes the name of Śaśânka's country to be Kiraṇasuvarṇa. Neither this nor M. St. Julien's transliteration is certain.

[12] Bâṇa says, p. 396: अतिक्रान्तेषु बहुवासरेषु कदाचित्तथैव भ्रातृगमनदुःखासिकया दत्तप्रजागरस्त्रिभागशेषायां त्रियामायां यामिकेन गीयमानामिमामार्यां शुश्राव ॥ The listener is Harsha. The news of his brother's death came on the following day. It seems impossible to understand the phrase "*when many days had passed*" otherwise than that *some months*, not a full year, had elapsed since Râjyavardhana's departure.

[13] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 472. I may add that Bhaṇḍin was not the minister of Râjyavardhana, as Hiuen Tsiang says, nor "a subject of high rank" entrusted with the two brothers' education, as Dr. Hall (*Vâsavadattâ*, p. 52) asserts. Bâṇa, 298, states plainly that he was the son of queen Yaśovatî's brother, who at the age of eight years became the attendant of the two princes, अस्मिन्नेव तु काले यशोवत्या भ्राता सुतमष्टवर्षदेशीयम् . . . अखिलनामानमनुचरं कुमारयोरर्पितवान्. Dr. Hall has already pointed out that Hiuen Tsiang's account of the part which Bhaṇḍin played in setting Harsha on the throne does not agree with Bâṇa's narrative. It is no doubt inexact.

mention it, there is no reason for wondering at his reticence. But it is certainly curious that the fact—for such it must be considered—escaped the notice of Hiuen Tsiang, who is so anxious to record every point in favour of his faith and who occasionally, it would seem, exaggerates its influence in India. Such an exaggeration of the Chinese pilgrim is laid bare by the only direct statement concerning Harsha which the grant contains. Harsha calls himself a most devout worshipper of Maheśvara or Śiva, "who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings." It agrees with this assertion that the emblem on the Sonpat seal is a reclining Nandi. Hiuen Tsiang, on the other hand, tries to make out that Harsha was a Buddhist or full of faith in Buddha from the beginning. He tells us an obviously fictitious story describing how Harsha was prevented from mounting the throne and induced to take the title *kumâra* by a Bodhisattva, who miraculously appeared to him in return for his worship.[14]

In the genealogical portion of the grant Harsha says nothing more about himself, and to our regret thereby sets an example which few Indian princes have imitated. But indirectly we learn something more about him from his edict. First, the wording of the verse in ll. 16-17, and the reverential manner in which the grant in l. 13 speaks of "the feet" of the elder brother, prove that Harsha really felt the strong attachment and great regard for Râjyavardhana of which Bâṇa speaks very frequently. Otherwise he would not treat him here with almost greater reverence than his parents. Secondly, we learn from the edict that Harsha really was a poet. The second admonitory verse, ll. 16-17, gives us a maxim proclaimed by Harsha. Its wording proves beyond a doubt that the king superintended the drafting of the grant, and that this verse at least is his own composition. The fact that the first admonitory verse contains the same sentiments which are usually given in such passages, but in its form differs from all the known parallel passages, makes it probable that it likewise belongs to him. Under these circumstances I feel inclined to ascribe to him also the verse on Râjyavardhana. Instances in which kings took a part in the composition of their inscriptions are not common. No. 15 of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Nepâl series, where five verses are stated to be "the clever king's own composition," proves, however, that such things did occur. In the case of Harsha it is not astonishing that he took an interest in such matters, as we still possess three plays which go under his name and probably, in part at least, proceeded from his pen. The third piece of information, a confirmation of Hiuen Tsiang's account of his military career, is furnished by the particulars regarding the donation. The object of the grant is to transfer the village of Somakuṇḍikâ situated in the *vishaya* of Kuṇḍadhânî, and in the *bhukti* of Śrâvastî, to two learned Brâhmans, the *Sâmavedî* Bhaṭṭa Vâtasvâmin of the Sâvarṇi gotra and the *Ṛigvedî* Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvâmin of the Vishṇuvṛiddha gotra. The village had formerly been enjoyed on the strength of a *forged śâsana* by one Vâmarathya, from whom it is now taken after destroying the old plate. The latter point is of some interest, as it shows that the rules of the *Smṛitis* which settle the punishment for forgers of royal edicts, were not unnecessary, and that ancient forgeries existed. As the village granted by Harsha was situated in the *bhukti* of Śrâvastî, it is evident that he had conquered at the time a very considerable portion of Northern and Central India. The *dûtaka*,

[14] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 212. Doubts about Hiuen Tsiang's veracity have been emitted by Mr. Boyd, *Nâgânanda*, pp. ix—xi, who correctly states that the events narrated by him do not bear out his assertion that Harsha was a thorough-going Buddhist.

or officer charged with the execution of the grant, was the *Mahâsâmanta-mahârâja* Skandagupta who held the office of *pramâtṛi*. This personage is probably the same Skandagupta who, according to Bâṇa,[15] was "the master of the elephant" at the death of Râjyavardhana and addressed to his prince the well-known speech full of political wisdom and historical allusions. The order to engrave the inscription was given by the chief of the *mahâkshapaṭalika's* office, or the great keeper of the records, *sâmanta-mahârâja* Îśvaragupta, and it was carried out by one Gurjara, whose name no doubt is derived from his caste.[16]

The date of the grant, Saṁvat 25, Mârgaśîrsha vadi 6, clearly refers to the Śrîharsha era. Since the discovery of Mr. Bendall's inscription [17] of Aṁśuvarman, dated Saṁvat 34, it is not doubtful that the era began in 606 A.D. Our date consequently corresponds to November-December 631 or, if the years are taken as elapsed, to 632 A.D. I am unable to offer any suggestion regarding the situation of Pinthikâ, where Harsha's camp of victory, which included elephants, horses and boats, was located at the time when the edict was issued.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री [18] स्वस्ति महानौहस्त्यश्वजयस्कन्धावारात् पिन्थिकायाः महाराजश्रीनरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीवज्रिणीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो

L. 2. महाराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पदानुध्यातः श्रीअप्सरोदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीमददित्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमहा-

L. 3. सेनगुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नश्चतुःसमुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजो वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तचक्र एकचक्ररथ इव प्रजानामार्त्तिहरः

L. 4. परमादित्यभक्तः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सितयशःप्रतानविच्छुरितसकलभुवनमण्डलः परिगृहीत-

L. 5. धनदवरुणेन्द्रप्रभृतिलोकपालतेजाः सत्पथोपार्ज्जितानेकप्रविणभूमिप्रदानसम्प्रीणितार्थिहृदयोतिशयितपूर्व्वराजचरितो देव्याममलयशोमत्यां

L. 6. श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः सुगत इव परहितैकरतः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनः राजानो युधि दृष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्ता -

L. 7. दयः

कृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारं विमुखा सर्व्वे समं संयताः [।]
उत्खाय द्विषतो विजित्य वसुधां कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रियं
प्राणानुज्झितवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः [॥][19] तस्यानुज -

L. 8. स्तत्पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव सर्व्वसत्वानुकम्पी परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहर्षः श्रावस्तीभुक्तौ कुण्डधानीवैषयिकसोमकुण्डिकाग्रामे

L. 9. समुपगतां [20] महासामन्तमहाराजदौस्साधसाधनिकप्रमातारराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतिभटचाटसेवकादीन्प्रतिवासिजनपदाश्च समा -

[15] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 417.

[16] It may be mentioned that Gurjara *sûtradhâras* are met within the present day.

[17] *Journey to Nepâl*, pp. 74-76.

[18] L. 1 Read श्रीः.

L. 2 Read अप्सरो॰ ; ॰श्रीमदादित्य॰

L. 5 Read ॰प्रवण॰, It looks as if the engraver had tried to remove the vowel *i*.

[19] Metre of the verse, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] L. 9 Read समुपगतान् ; the Sanskrit form of प्रमातार is प्रमाढ. Read जनपदांश्च ; the reading of the plate may be जनपदान्श्च.

(*father's*) feet (*was he*) who overspread the circle of the whole world with the canopy of his brilliant fame; who completely appropriated the lustre of the guardians of the world, Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indrā and so forth; who gladdened the hearts of needy men by gifts of many excellent[25] (*pieces of*) land gained in a righteous manner; who was born from the queen possessing spotless fame, the illustrious Yaśomatî,—a most devout worshipper of Sugata, who like Sugata solely found pleasure in doing good to others, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Râjyavardhana; "By whom, plying his whip in battle, the kings Devagupta and others—who resembled wicked horses—were all subdued with averted faces; who, after uprooting his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise gave up his life in the mansion of his foe." His younger brother who meditates on his (*elder brother's*) feet, a most devout worshipper of Maheśvara, who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Harsha, addresses (*this*) order to the great feudal barons, the great kings, *Daussâdhasâdhanikas*,[26] *Pramâtṛis*,[27] viceroys, princes, ministers, *Uparikas*, rulers of districts, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, as well as to the provincials of the neighbourhood, assembled in the village of Somakuṇḍikâ which belongs to the district (*vishaya*) of Kuṇḍadhânî in the *bhukti* of Śrâvastî:

"Be it known to you that, having considered that this village of Somakuṇḍikâ has been enjoyed[28] by the Brahman Vâmarathya on the strength of a forged edict, having therefore broken that edict and having taken (*the village*) from him, I have granted it, up to its boundaries, together with the *udraṅga*, together with (*the right to*) all the income which ought to accrue to the house of the king,[29] endowed with all immunities . . . . . (*with the right of*) inheritance by sons and grandsons, (*for a period*) lasting as long as moon, sun and earth (*endure*), according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage,[30] for the increase of the merit and fame of (*my*) father, the supreme lord

[25] *Pravaṇa* cannot here have its usual meaning "inclining towards." I take it in the sense of *udâra* which is given in some *Koshâs*, and as a synonym of *pravara*. The latter term is sometimes found in parallel passages of inscriptions.

[26] Literally "those charged with the accomplishment of what is difficult to accomplish." If this term, which occurs also in other inscriptions (see *e.g. Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 167, l. 28), is identical with *dauḥsâdhika* (see A. Weber, *Hâla*, 406, 557), it means perhaps "policeman," or, as Professor Weber thinks, "doorkeeper."

[27] Regarding the term *pramâtri*, found here and below, l. 16, see the note on verse 36 of the second Baijnâth Praśasti (*inf.*), and regarding the form *pramâtâra*, see above, p. 68.

[28] The text has *bhuktakaḥ*. The addition of a meaningless affix *ka* to participles in *mâna*, *na* and *ta*, which, I think, is owing to the influence of the Prâkrit dialects, occurs very frequently in the Central Indian inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries. See *e.g.* Mr. Fleet's volume, quoted above, page 136, l. 9, *utpannakotpadyamânaka*, p. 137, l. 11, *kâritaka* and so forth.

[29] Analogous expressions such as *samuchitarâjâbhâvyakarapratyâyâna grâhyâḥ* occur in the Karitalai copper-plate inscription of M. Jayanâtha (Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 118, ll. 11-12) and other grants of the same series. Mr. Fleet interprets them however differently. I dissolve the compound by *sarva-râjakula-âbhâvya-pratyâya-sametaḥ* and take *âbhâvya* in the sense of *âbhâvayitavya*.

[30] My translation of *bhûmichchhidra* by 'land unfit for tillage' rests on a passage of Yâdava's *Vaijayantî*, where we read according to a MS. sent to me by Dr. Oppert (now India Office Bühler Sansk. MSS., No. 145) in the *Vaiśyâdhyâya* of the *Bhûmikâṇḍa*, III, 8, 16b—17:

केदारः केदरः चेवमुर्वरा सर्वसस्यभूः ॥ १६ ॥
भूमिच्छिद्रं क्षययोग्यां प्रहतं नालमुत्थितम् ।
खिलं त्वप्रहतं स्थानमूषवत्यूषरेरिणे ॥ १७ ॥

The maxim concerning ground unfit for tillage is probably that enunciated by Manu, IX, 44, that "a field belongs to him who cleared away the timber." The ultimate sense of the expression is, therefore, that the land in question is made over to the donee with the same full right of ownership which the first cultivator would have possessed who reclaimed it.

L. 10. ज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः सम्विदितंमयं सीमकुण्डकाग्रामो ब्राह्मणवामरथ्येन कूटशासनेन भुक्तक इति विचार्य यतस्तच्छासनं भङ्क्त्वा तस्मादाच्छिद्य च स्वसीमा-

L. 11. पर्यन्तः सोद्रङ्गः सर्व्वराजकुलाभाव्यप्रत्यायसमेतः सर्व्वपरिहृतपरिहारो विषयाद्धृतपिण्डः पुत्रपौत्रानुगः चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालीनो

L. 12. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन मया पितुः परमभट्टारकमहाराधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनदेवस्य मातुः परमभट्टारिकामहादेवीराज्ञीश्रीयशोमतीदेव्याः

L. 13. ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनदेवपादानां च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये सावर्ण्णिसगोत्रच्छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभट्टवातस्वामि -

L. 14. विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रवह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिशिवदेवस्वामिभ्यां प्रतिग्रहधर्म्मणाग्रहारत्वेन प्रतिपादितः विदित्वा भवद्भिः समनुमन्तव्यः प्रति

L. 15. वासिजनपदैरप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा यथासमुचिततुल्यमेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायाः अनयोरेवोपनेयाः सेवोपस्थानं च करणीयमित्य-

L. 16. पि च ॥

अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [।]
लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलचंचलायाः दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥[21]
कर्म्मणा

L. 17. मनसा वाचा कर्त्तव्यं प्राणिनेहितं [।]
हर्षेणैतत्समाख्यातं[22]धर्म्मार्ज्जनमनुत्तमं ॥
दूतकोत्र महाप्रमातारमहासामन्तश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तः महाक्षपटलाधिकरणाधि -

L. 18. कृतसामन्तमहाराजेश्वरगुप्तसमादेशाच्चोत्कीर्णं गुर्ज्जरेण सम्वत् २० + ५ मार्ग्गशीर्षवदि ६

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail! From the great camp of victory (*containing*) boats, elephants and horses, from Pinthikâ:[23]—the great king, the illustrious Naravardhana; his son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Vajriṇî, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Râjyavardhana. His son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Apsaras, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Adityavardhana. His son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Mahâsenaguptâ, he whose fame passed beyond the four oceans, he whose sovereign power was employed in settling (*the system of*) castes and orders, who like (*the deity*) with the single-wheeled chariot[24] removed the torments of his subjects, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Prabhâkaravardhana. His son who meditated on his

L. 10 Read संविदितमयं सीमकुण्डिकां॰ The dot above त may, however, be accidental.

L. 11 Read विषयादुद्धृत॰.

[21] Metre of the first verse, Vasantatilakâ; of the second, Anushṭubh.

[22] L. 17 Read हर्षेणैतत्स॰.

[23] The ablatives must be construed with *sâmâjñâpayati* below, ll. 9-10.

[24] Though I am unable to prove my supposition by the quotation of parallel passages or of *Koshas*, I think that the sun is meant, the single wheel of whose chariot may here, as in the *Ṛigveda*, represent the year. The next two kings are likewise compared with those gods whom they particularly worshipped.

and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Prabhâkaravardhana, of (*my*) mother, the supreme lady and great queen, Her Majesty the illustrious queen Yaśomatî, and of the feet of (*my*) elder brother, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Râjyavardhana,—to Bhaṭṭa Vâtasvâmin, a member of the Sâvarṇi gotra, and a fellow-student of the *Chhandogas* (*a Sâmavedî*) and to Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvâmin, a member of the Vishṇuvṛiddha gotra and a fellow-student of the *Bahvṛichas* (*a Ṛigvedî*), as a duly accepted[31] *agrahâra*. Knowing this you should agree (*to it*), and the provincials of the neighbourhood being obedient to (*my*) command should bring to these two (*donees*) alone the due income, which is to be given according to weight and according to measure, (*viz.*) the share (*of the crops*), the (*objects of*) enjoyment,[32] the taxes, the gold and so forth, and they should do them service."

Moreover, "By those who profess (*to belong to*) the noble line of our race and by others this gift ought to be agreed to. Gifts and the protection of the fame of others (*are*) the result of fortune that is unstable like lightning or a water-bubble." "With deeds, thoughts and words living beings should do their duty. Harsha has declared that an unsurpassable (*mode of*) acquiring spiritual merit."[33]

The messenger (*charged with the order*) concerning this (*grant is*) the great feudal baron, the great king Skandagupta; and (*the edict*) has been incised by Gurjara at the command of the great chief of the office of records, the feudal baron, the great king Îśvaragupta, [*Śrîharsha-*]Saṁvat 25 Mârgaśîrsha, dark half, the sixth (*lunar day*).

XII.—THE DEWAL PRAŚASTI OF LALLA THE CHHINDA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., L.L.D., C.I.E.

The Dewal Praśasti was originally discovered by Mr. H. S. Boulderson in 1829, at the village of Gaḍh Gajâna, on the west bank of the Kâvâ or Katnî stream, between Dewal and Deoriyâ, about twenty miles south-east of Pilibhit, in the North-Western Provinces.[1]

The inscription is incised with great neatness and care on a stone slab, measuring 3′ 9″ by 2′ 1″, and is in a state of almost perfect preservation. The characters are ancient Nâgarî, differing from the ordinary type of the tenth century only in that the loops on the left hand of *na* and *ma* are not closed, but represented by a curve. Similarly

[31] *Pratigrahadharmanâ*, i. e., *pratigraho dharmo yasya tena*.

[32] I understand by *bhoga* '(*objects of*) enjoyment', the so-called *haks*, fruit, firewood, flowers, pan, etc., which the villagers have to furnish to their lord either daily or on certain occasions,—see also Manu, VII, 118, and the note to my translation of the passage.

[33] Both verses are composed on the model of ancient ślokas, the first according to some commonly quoted in other grants, the second according to one from the *Mahâbhârata*, see Böthlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 1560.

[1] The document was first published with a translation in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, p. 777, by Mr. J. Prinsep, according to a copy taken by Colonel Stacy. A facsimile of l. 1 and of the greater part of l. 2 accompanies Prinsep's paper. See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, pp. 321—324. Later a complete facsimile was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. I, p. 354ff. The subjoined edition has been prepared according to an excellent paper impression taken by Dr. A. Führer, of the Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces, and sent to me by the Editor.

the left limb of *ka* in the group *ksha* is curved upwards. In all other respects the letters closely resemble those of the Paramâra, Râṭhor, and other inscriptions of the same period. As in most other inscriptions from Northern India, we find here no distinction between the letters *ba* and *va*, which doubtless were pronounced alike. In *râjahansî*, l. 3, the dental *na* is substituted for the *anusvâra*. The letter *pha* has a very archaic form. Owing to the peculiarity mentioned above and guided by a peculiar interpretation of a statement of the copyist who in verse 36 calls himself "acquainted with crooked letters" (*kuṭilâksharâṇi*), Mr. Prinsep has called the alphabet of this inscription the *Kuṭila* alphabet. It seems to me, however, that there is no sufficient reason for doing so I cannot see anything particularly crooked in any of the letters, and do not think it likely that the very slight modifications in three signs could have caused the alphabet to be designated by a special name. Moreover, if the writer says that he was acquainted with crooked letters, the natural interpretation of the phrase seems to be that it refers to his skill in reading badly written and difficult documents, not that he was acquainted with letters called *Kuṭila*. For there is nowhere else an indication that an alphabet of this name existed. Nor could the knowledge of such ordinary easily read characters as those of our inscription become the subject of a boast on the part of a professional scribe. If a writer wishes to extol his skill, he will of course say that he is proficient in the difficult local alphabets, used by the professional classes, such as the Moḍî, Lânde, &c., which all, indeed, are very "crooked" and are not easily deciphered. I would, therefore, remove the term *Kuṭila* alphabet from Indian palæography and describe the letters of the Dewal inscription as Nâgarî of the North Indian type.

The language is very high-flown Sanskrit, which, however, is not quite free from mistakes. When the author speaks, verse 21, of "holy *śâsanas*, situated on the banks of pure rivers," he uses the word *śâsana* in the sense of "villages granted by *śâsanas* or edicts," for which meaning it might be difficult to find good authority. Again, the use of *âvabhâra*, in verse 11, is very curious. Further, the construction of *samvaddhâ*, verse 32, with the locative instead of with the instrumental is ungrammatical. Finally, there are some cases where words seem to have been put in merely in order to make up the verse.

The inscription records the erection of two temples dedicated respectively to Śiva and to Pârvatî and of certain donations made to them. The founders were the provincial chief, Lalla of the Chhinda family, and his wife Lakshmî.

The pedigree of the former is given as follows :—

Chyavana.
⋮
Vairavarman.
|
Bhûshaṇa. — Malhaṇa, married to Aṇahilâ of the Chulukîśvara family.
|
Lalla, married to Lakshmî.

The allusion in verse 4 to Chyavana's quarrel with Indra shows that the person intended is the mythical sage of the Bhârgava tribe, who according to the Vedic and Purânic legends married Sukanyâ, the daughter of king Śaryâta or Śaryâti, a son or descendant of Manu Vaivasvata. The Chhinda family would, therefore, seem to have claimed connexion with the Solar line of Kshatriyas. Its name occurs elsewhere only in the Jaina lists. It is found in the slightly different form Chhindaka in the *Ratna-*

kosha,[2] and in the *Kumârapâlacharita*[3] of Jinamaṇḍana where the thirty-six Râjput tribes are likewise enumerated.

The description of the four Chhinda chiefs named is almost purely conventional. In spite of the extravagant praise of their bravery and warlike exploits, it may be considered as certain that they were only ordinary feudatories, obeying a paramount power, possibly the king of Kanauj. The real facts recorded are very few. Regarding Malhaṇa it is said in verse 11 that he was a Śaiva, and in verse 13 that his consort Aṇahilâ belonged to the royal Chulukîśvara race. The latter name is, I think, an equivalent of the better-known one Chaulukya. The Chaulukyas derive their origin from a mythical hero Chuluka, who is said to have been created from Brahman's waterpot (*chuluka*). Chulukîśvara may stand either for *chuluki(n)-îśvara* or, as I believe to be more likely, with a somewhat irregular sandhi for *chulukya-îśvara*, and may be translated the Chulukya lords. Malhaṇa's marriage seems to have been above his rank and a source of pride to the family. The definite statements regarding his son Lalla are—that he brought the Kaṭha river to his unnamed capital, verse 22, and that he built the temples of Śiva and Pârvatî in conjunction with his wife Lakshmî, endowing them with some villages, situated in the Mayûtâ of Bhûshaṇa, to which he gave the name Devapallî, as well as with a fourth of his income. Sir A. Cunningham's researches[4] have shown that Devapallî is the modern Dewal,[5] and that the Kaṭha river is the canal still called Katnî-nadî. The latter identification makes it very probable that Lalla's residence was the deserted fort, called Gaḍh-khera, which is almost surrounded by the canal. As the date of the inscription, Saṁvat 1049, probably refers to the Vikrama era and thus corresponds to 992-93 A.D., Lalla and the other chiefs named, all lived in the tenth century. Nehila, the author of the *Praśasti*, who, as would appear from his great praise of Lalla's liberality, must have been very well paid for his work, was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Śivarudra and belonged to the Vedic *gotra* of Vatsa. The copyist Takshâditya, son of Vishṇuhari, was a Gauḍa Kâyastha, and Somanâtha, son of Kâmadeva, the mason, who incised the document, was a native of Kanyakubja—Kanauj.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥

हेलाङ्गुष्ठाग्रपीडाभरनमदचलोत्संगसम्भारदूर भ्रश्यद्भूभारतिर्यग्दलितमणिफणामण्डले भोगिराजे ।
तत्कालीभ्रान्तलोकत्रितयकृतमहास्तोत्रमन्त्रावतारः पायाद्वः पा[र्व्व ती]शः शमितदशशिरःशौ -

L. 2. र्यवीर्यावलेपः ॥ [१॥][6]

शूलक्षतद्विरददानवकुंभमुक्तमुक्ताकलापकलितामलकण्ठकांतिः ।
विश्वं पुनातु गिरिजा वदनावधूतचन्द्रोपनीतपरिवेषमिवोद्वहन्ती ॥ [२॥][7]
लक्ष्मीविभ्रमकेलिसद्म सुभटव्यापारलीलास्पदं प्रख्यात -

[2] Aufrecht, *Cat. Sansk.* MSS. *Bodleian Libr.*, p. 354. The addition of the affix *ka* to names is extremely common, especially in Jaina Sanskrit.

[3] See *Ind. Off. Lib.* No. 286, p. 2 (Sansk. MSS. Bühler). Sir H. Elliot's identification (*Memoirs*, &c., vol. I, p. 73) of the Chhindas with the Chandels is most improbable, because the words do not agree and the Jaina lists contain both names.

[4] *Archæological Reports*, vol. I, pp. 353 ff.

[5] [Dewal is called 'Illâhâbâs or 'Illâhâbâd by the Muhammadans: the Katnî is also known as the Kâvâ.—J. R.]

[6] Metre, Sragdharâ. Only the व्व of the syllables र्व्वती is distinguishable.

[7] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 3. क्षितिपालरत्नजलधिः श्रीराजहन्मीसरः ।
सद्वीरव्रततीर्थमर्थिकुमुदप्रह्लादनेन्दुर्द्विषद्वंशभ्रंशदवानलो विजयतां छिन्दक्षितीशान्वयः ॥ [३॥][8]
उत्पत्तिरस्य हि पुरा च्यवनान्महर्षेर्व्वाक्तव्यलीककलिते क्षिदशाधिनाथे ।
तद्दर्प्पनिर्द्दलनदत्तकठो -

L. 4. रट्टष्टेरष्टासु दिक्षु यशसैव सह प्रसिद्धा ॥ [४॥][9]
वंशेस्मिन्सितकीर्त्तिकन्दलवति श्रीवैरवर्म्माख्यया ख्यातोभूद्भुवि भूषितावनितलो राजन्यचूडामणिः ।
जन्मस्थानमिवाकलय्य कमला तुङ्गात्मनां भाविनाम्भर्त्तृणामवनेश्चकार चतुरा यस्यालयान्तस्थिति-

L. 5. म् ॥ [५][10]
त्यागी धर्म्मपरः पराक्रमधनः सत्यप्रियः कीर्त्तिमान्सन्मार्ग्गानुगतः शुचिर्दृढमतिर्म्मानोन्नतो नीतिमान् ।
शौर्यौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो यः सङ्गतः सज्जनैर्युक्तः सर्व्वगुणोदयेन महतामाराधनीयोभवत् ॥ [६॥][11]
तस्मादत्युग्रतेजःप्रसरनियमितारा -

L. 6. तिपङ्क्तीपसंगः श्रीमांश्चण्डप्रतापः सकलवसुमतीभूषणं भूषणोभूत् ।
यस्योद्योगप्रसर्प्पद्बलभरदलितक्ष्मातलस्थस्थवीयः शेषाहिश्वासशोषादगमदिरिणतां निर्ज्जलं भोगि-

सद्म ॥ [७॥][12]
यत्सैन्यगन्धगजगण्डगलन्मदाम्भः संजातचन्द्रकशतैरिव मुद्रि -

L. 7. तासु ।
दूरे विपक्षकरिणी वनदन्तिनोपि भूयो न वारि जगृहुः सरसीष्वरण्ये ॥ [८][13]
यः सेवागतराजचक्रमुकुटोद्घृष्टांघ्रिपीठस्थलो भर्त्ता यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनालंकारवत्या भुवः ।
विक्षेपैरपि यस्य तै रघुपतेराशोषिताः सिन्धवो यस्तस्यापि महाकुला -

L. 8. [च]ल इवावष्टभ्य तस्थौ भुवम् ॥ [९॥][14]
यस्यैषा राजधानी रजनिकरकराकारकान्तैर्गुणौघैः पूर्णेवाद्यापि रमा स्फुरति मरकतश्यामलैः काननान्तैः ।
उद्यानैर्न्दनाभैरतिविशदसुधासेकशुभ्रैः सुराणां प्रासादैरुन्नताग्रैरमरपतिपुरीस्पर्द्धिनीव विभाति ॥

[१०][15]
त -

L. 9. स्यानुजः समभवद्भवभक्तिनम्रः श्रीमल्लहणः परिघपीवरबाहुदण्डः ।
भ्रातुः कृपाणतुलिताहितराजचक्रं यो लीलयैव धवलो धुरमावभार [॥ [११॥][16]
ल[ब्ध]ा ततः स विपुलामपि राजलक्ष्मीं भक्तिं परामकृत देवगुरुद्विजेषु ।

L. 10. प्रीत्यै सुहृत्प्रणयिबन्धुजनेजनिष्ट दुष्टक्षयादतनुतातिमुदं प्रजासु ॥ [१२॥][17]
तस्य प्रियापि चुलुकीश्वरराजवंशसम्भूतिरुज्वलगुणाभरणाभिरामा ।
गीता जगत्यणहिलेति समस्तकान्तशुद्धान्तवक्त्रकमलेन्दुकला बभूव ॥ [१३॥][18]
तस्यां श्रीलल्लनामाजनि जनितमहामण्डलाधीशशङ्कः शूरः कुन्दे -

[8] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[9] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[10] Metre, Śârdulavikrîḍita.
[11] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[12] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[13] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; the first letter of l. 8 is destroyed.
[15] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[16] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[17] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; the second syllable of the verse is mutilated, but recognisable.
[18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 11. न्दुदत्तद्युतितुलितगुणालंकृताशामुखश्रीः ।
योसौ सामन्तचक्राचलकनकगिरिर्व्विहृतारातिलक्ष्मीतिर्यङ्क्षिप्तान्तपाताहतभुजशिखरश्छिन्दवंशप्र-
रोहः ॥ [१४][19]

चित्तं यदस्य किल जन्मदिने ममन्तात् श्रीमल्हणस्य भवने परमप्रमोदे ।
आवेदयंत्युदयम -

L. 12. म्बरतः पपात । भृङ्गालिमङ्गलरवैरिव पुष्पवृष्टिः ॥ [१५॥][20]

नोन्निद्रा नलिनी न चार्प्पितमनस्निग्धा सतां सङ्गति-र्नोत्फुल्लस्तवका नता वनलता शीमा ससस्या
न च ।
नोद्दामा कविभारती न च तथा हृद्या शरत्कौमुदी लक्ष्मीर्यस्य यथा वभूव विदुषामानन्दनिष्यन्दि -

L. 13. नी ॥ [१६][21]

किञ्चातैरपरैर्द्धराधिपतिभिर्म्मन्ये वृथा रचिता येषान्तिष्ठति दुर्भगेव वनिता श्रीरप्यभोग्या गृहे ।
नाभूदस्ति न नापि कोपि भविता भूपालचूडामणिर्यः श्रीलक्ष्मनरेन्द्रचन्द्रसदृशस्त्यागेन भोगेनच ॥
[१७॥][22]

आदौ सङ्गरसंगताहितमहामातङ्गकुम्भ[स्थ] -

L. 14. लो सिन्दूरारुणकान्तिरुज्वलयशस्तेजोभिरिद्धस्ततः ।
उत्खातारितमःप्रतापविसरैराक्रान्तदिग्मण्डल स्त्रिग्मांशोस्तुलनाम्बिभर्त्ति भुवने यन्मण्डलाग्रोधुना॥
[१८॥][23]

अब्धौ मुक्तायमाना शिरसि हिमगिरेरभ्रगङ्गायमाना
व्योम्नि ज्योत्स्नायमाना दिशि दिशि करिणां कुम्भ -

L. 15. मालायमाना ।
उच्चैर्द्देवालयानामुपरि सितपताकायमाना यदीया
कीर्त्तिर्भ्रान्ता समन्तादनुनदि पुलिने राजहंसीयमाना ॥ [१९॥][24]
कष्टे काले कलावप्यभिभवति जगत्कूपवापीतडागै रासन्नारामसत्रैः सुरसदनमठैर्म्मण्डितायाम-
मुष्याम् ॥

रमग्रामृद्धिं वहन्त्या -

L. 16. मतिसुजनजनानन्दितायां नगर्यां यस्मिन्धर्म्मावतारे प्रकृतकृतयुगाम्भर-
सम्भावनाभूत् [२०॥][25]

यः शासनान्यतिसमृद्धजनान्वितानि सीमान्तसस्यबहुलानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यः ।
पार्श्वप्रशस्ततरुषण्डमनोहराणि पुण्यानि निर्म्मलनदीतटवासभांजि ॥ [२१][26]
गङ्गा भ -

L. 17. गीरथेनेव येन मार्गोपदेशिना ।
स्वपुरीसन्निधौ रम्या पुण्या कठनदी कृता ॥ [२२][27]
तस्याभवत्प्रणयिनी मधुसूदनस्य लक्ष्मीरिवामलकुलाम्बुनिधेः प्रसूता ।

[19] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[20] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; read ०मनःस्निग्धा सीमा.
[22] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The last letter of line 13 is destroyed. I do not correct ०उज्वल०, because the spelling is permissible.
[24] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[25] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[26] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[27] Metre, Anushṭubh.

सर्व्वावरोधनवधूमुखपद्मषण्ड प्रालेयवृष्टिरपराभिधयापि लक्ष्मीः ॥ [२३॥][28]
भक्त्या च या विनयनम्रतया

L. 18. च पत्युश्चेतो जहार गुणवत्यनुरागिणी च ।
रमंग हराद्रिसुतयोरिव तत्तथा हि प्रेमापि रूढमनयोरितरेतरस्थम् ॥ [२४॥][29]
आरामोद्यानवापीषु देवतायतनेषु च ।
कृतानि क्रियमाणानि यस्याः कर्म्माणि सर्व्वदा ॥ [२५][30]
दीनानाथविपन्नेषु करुणान्वितचेतसः ।
सत्त्वे -

L. 19. षु भुञ्जते यस्या विप्रसंघा दिने दिने ॥ [२६॥][31]
इत्थं विविक्तमनयोः परिवर्द्धमानधर्म्मप्रबन्धविगलत्कलिकालवृत्त्योः ।
एकस्तयोरमुमकारयदिन्दुमौलेः प्रासादमद्रितनयाभवनन्तथान्या ॥ [२७॥][32]
सुरगृहयुगमेतत्तुङ्गकैलासशृङ्गद्वितयतुलितकान्ति श्वेत -

L. 22. मुचः सुधाभिः ।
वितरति हृदि नान्तर्व्विस्मयं कस्य वातप्रहतघनपताकाकंपिताम्भोदवृन्दम् ॥ [२८॥][33]
यावत्सकौस्तुभमुरो मुरमर्द्दनस्य शम्भोः शशाङ्कशकलाभरणं शिरश्च ।
यावत्स्थितिन्दधति तीयधयः समस्ताः स्तादेव तावदचला भुवि कीर्त्तिरेषा ॥ [२९॥][34]
स जय -

L. 23. तु भुवि लल्लश्छिन्दवंशप्रवीरः सममतिगुणवत्या कान्तया चेह लक्ष्म्या ।
रिपुगजमदपंकप्लावितायेण येन प्रतिरणमसिनैवालेखि दिक्षु प्रशस्तिः ॥ ३०][35]
भूत्यै सदैव भवने कृतसंनिधाना नानाविधानि दुरितानि विनाशयन्ती ।
साध[त्य]दारपरिवर्ग्ग[सु] -

L. 24. हृद्गणस्य श्रीलल्लमण्डलपतेरनघास्तु देवी ॥ [३१॥][36]
भूषणस्य मयूतायां सम्बद्धा भूमिरुत्तमा ।
विधाय देवपल्लीति देवयोः प्रतिपादिता ॥ [३२॥][37]
पूजासंस्कारहेतोश्च शिवयोः शासनोक्तः ।
दानादायस्य पादोपि श्रीलल्लेन सुकीर्त्तिना ॥ [३३॥][38]
प्रख्यातवत्समुनिवंशसमुद्र[वो] -

L. 25. भूङ्गदीनुरूपचरितः शिवरुद्रनामा ।
तत्सूनुना विरचिताभिनवा प्रशस्तिरेषा प्रसन्नकविता किल नेहिलेन ॥ [३४॥][39]
यस्य प्रसन्नसरला पदमालिकेयं प्रह्लादहेतुरधिकं सदलंकृतिश्च ॥
श्रीलल्लनिर्म्मलगुणग्रथनाभिरामा मुक्तावलीव हृदये विदुषां चकास्ति ॥ [३५][40]

[28] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[29] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[30] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[31] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[32] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[33] Metre, Mâlinî.
[34] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[35] Metre, Mâlinî.
[36] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; the letters placed between brackets are half destroyed.
[37] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[38] Metre, Anushṭubh. Read सुकीर्त्तिना.
[39] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. The last letter of line 24 is damaged.
[40] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 26. विष्णुहरेस्तनयेन च लिखिता गौडेन करणिकेणैषा ।
कुटिलाक्षराणि विदुषा तक्षादित्याभिधानेन ॥ [३६॥][41]
कन्यकुब्जागतेनापि कामदेवसुतेन च ।
उत्कीर्णा सोमनाथेन टङ्कविज्ञानशालिना ॥ [३७ ॥[42]
सम्वत्सरसहस्र १०४९ मार्ग्ग वदि ७ गुरुदिने ॥द्य॥[43]

TRANSLATION.

Om, Om, Adoration to Śiva!

1. May the husband of Pârvatî protect you,—he by whom the mainfestation of a charm (*in the shape of*) the *Mahâstotra*, was made in the three worlds that were greatly frightened at that time when the King of Serpents had his jewelled heads obliquely rent by the load of the earth that fell far away in consequence of the multitude of the mountain-plateaux bending under the weight of a gentle pressure of the tip of (*Śiva's*) great toe—he who humbled the pride entertained by the ten-headed (*Râvaṇa*) on account of his strength and valour.[44]

2. May the Daughter of the Mountain purify the universe—she the spotless splendour of whose throat has been gained through a multitude of pearls fallen from the frontal globes of the Dânava (*who assumed the shape of*) an elephant (*and was*) wounded by (*her*) trident, she who wears as it were the halo surrounding the moon which is surpassed by her face.[45]

3. Victorious be the race of the Chhinda princes, the scene of the coquettish sport of Lakshmî, the field of the playful activity of brave warriors, an ocean containing jewels (*in the shape of*) renowned kings, a lake for the royal swan Śrî, a sacred bathing-place for those who keep the vow of noble heroes, a moon to gladden the needy, (*who may be compared to*) the night lotuses, a forest-fire for the destruction of the families of (*their*) foes (*who resemble*) bamboos.

4. Its origin in ancient times from the great sage Chyavana—who sternly frowned in order to break the pride of the Lord of the gods when he was openly tainted by sin[46]—is known in the eight regions of the world together with its fame.

5. In this race which possesses brilliant fame (*comparable to the white flowers of the*) Kandala, was born a crest-jewel of warriors, famous on earth under the appellation 'the illustrious Vairavarman' in whose house the clever goddess of Fortune took

[41] Metre, Âryâ.

[42] Metre, Anushṭubh.

[43] The word सहस्र is superfluous and ought to be expunged. The mistake seems to have been caused by the author having originally intended to give the date both in words and in figures.

[44] I have rendered the first huge epithet of Śiva as literally as possible, because I do not know the myth to which it refers. Śiva's encounter with Râvaṇa is frequently alluded to in the *Kâvyas*.

[45] The demon who assumed the shape of an elephant is no doubt Mahishâsura. According to the *Devîmâhâtmya*, *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, LXXIII, 30, the Âsura turned himself also into a Mahâgaja. When speaking of the halo which surrounds the face of Pârvatî, the poet may have thought of representations, such as are found in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, plate vii, where her head is surrounded by a glory. *Chandropanîta* which I have taken as equivalent to *chandrâya upanîta*, may also stand for *chandreṇa upanîta*. In the latter case it would indicate that the moon, found on Śiva's crest, transferred his halo to the goddess who is closely united with her husband in the form of Ardhanârî.

[46] This refers to the quarrel of Indra and Chyavana, caused by the latter's appropriating a share of the offerings to the Aśvins; see H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurâṇa*, vol. III, p. 248, and Dr. F. E. Hall's note thereon. I am unable to find the story in the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmaṇa* where it ought to stand according to the scholiast.

up her abode, foreseeing, as it were, (*that it would be*) the birth-place of high-minded future lords of the earth;

6. Who (*Vairavarman*), being liberal, pious, energetic, fond of truth, famous, a follower of the path of the virtuous, pure, of firm intellect, exalted through (*proper*) pride,[47] politic, the abode of valour, munificence and discernment, an associate of the virtuous, (*and*) endowed with all virtues, became worshipful for great men.

7. From him sprang illustrious Bhûshaṇa[48] of fierce prowess, an ornament of the whole earth, who through the expansion of his exceedingly terrible lustre prevented mud (*i.e. his*) enemies from sticking (*to him*). Through the heat of the breath of the very stout serpent Śesha who lying under the earth was wounded by the weight of that (*Bhûshaṇa's*) army when it strenuously marched forward, the abode of the snakes (*Pâṭâla*) was converted into a salt-marsh.

8. In the forest-lakes which were marked, as it were, with hundreds of dark spots sprung from the ichor that dropped from the temples of the rutting elephants of his army, even the wild elephants—how much less those of his enemies—no longer drank water.

9. His footstool was scratched by the crowns of a multitude of princes who came to serve him; he was the lord of the earth that is encircled by the four oceans as by an ornamental zone; the oceans were almost dried up by his camps (*as*) by those of the lord of the Raghus, resembling one of the primeval mountains he stood supporting the earth.[49]

10. This capital of his, filled as it were with numerous excellent qualities that are lovely like the shape of the beams of the moon, glitters even at present, charming on account of its woods that are dark-green like emeralds, (*and*) seems to rival the town of the lord of the immortals with its gardens resembling Nandana, with its high-topped temples of the gods that are resplendent with the sprinkling of exceedingly pure whitewash.

11. His younger brother was the illustrious Malhaṇa, who, in devotion, bowed to Bhava,—whose strong arm was stout like a club, who resplendent (*with fame*)[50] sportively took over the burden (*of the empire*) from his brother, proving himself equal to the multitude of hostile kings with his sword.[51]

12. Though he gained thereby great royal fortune, he showed the highest devotion to gods, Gurus and Brâhmans; he was born for the joy of his friends, intimates and kinsmen; he spread delight among his subjects by destroying the wicked.

[47] Or, "exalted through honours" (*conferred by his suzerain*).

[48] Bhûshaṇa, left out in Mr. Prinsep's translation, not the monstrous Mâṁschanda-pratâpa, which owes its origin to a wrong division of the syllables of two epithets and to a mislection, is the name of the second chief. Bhûshaṇa is still a very common proper name, usually spelt and pronounced Bhûkhaṇ. By the epithet *chaṇḍapratâpaḥ*, Bhûshaṇa is compared with the sun and this comparison suggests that of his enemies to the mud which the sun dries up and prevents from sticking.

[49] The translation of the third and fourth Pâdas is not certain. In Pâda 3, I have taken *vikshepa* in the sense of 'camp' which it certainly has in the inscriptions of the Gurjara king Ḍadda II. If that is correct, it must be assumed that the armies are represented as having required, on account of their magnitude, the whole contents of the oceans for drinking-water. Indian poets frequently speak of the soldiers of their heroes drinking from the ocean, apparently forgetting that the thing is impossible (see *e.g.* the great Andhra inscription of Pulumâyi, *Arch. Reports of Western India*, vol. IV, p. 108, l. 3). Possibly, however, *vikshepa* may mean 'constructions' and the poet wished to say that Bhûshaṇa built bridges or dams across the ocean, as Râma did when invading Ceylon. In the fourth Pâda I have left untranslated the words *tasyâ pi*, of which I cannot make anything. I am inclined to assume that they have been put in in order to make up the verse.

[50] *Dhavala*, 'resplendent (*with fame*),' may possibly be intended as a second name or *biruda* of Malhaṇa.

[51] One would have expected °*chakraḥ*. But the actual reading may be defended on the supposition that the compound is an *avyayîbhâva* modifying *âvabhâra*. It would seem that Malhaṇa had to fight for the succession or possibly took the chiefship by force from his brother.

13. But his wife, sprung from the royal race of Chulukîśvara, lovely through the ornament of shining qualities, celebrated in the world as Aṇahilâ[52], was (*as*) the new moon to the lotus faces of the whole harem of her husband.

14. From her was born a hero, called the illustrious Lalla, who caused fear to great rulers of provinces, who adorned the beauteous faces of the (*nymphs guarding*) the regions by his virtues which equalled the brilliancy of jasmin, the moon and ivory; he was a shoot of the Chhinda race, whose high arm was struck by the oblique glance of the goddess of Fortune that he took from his enemies.

15. Wonderful (*it was*) that, forsooth, on the day of his birth a rain of flowers fell from the sky all around in the most joyful palace of the illustrious Malhaṇa, announcing, as it were, (*his future*) prosperity by the auspicious humming of the bees.

16. Neither a lake with opened lotuses, nor the company of the virtuous, dear to those who give them their hearts, nor bending forest-creepers with full-blown flower-bunches, nor fields covered with crops, nor the high-flown speech of poets, nor the light of the autumnal moon, is so pleasing to the heart, as his good fortune that showers joy on the learned.

17. What is the use of the birth of other princes, in whose palaces Ween Fortune resides, like a hapless woman[53] guarded in vain and unenjoyed? No crest-jewel of princes ever existed, exists, or will exist who resembles the illustrious moon-like prince, Lalla, in liberality and in enjoyment.

18. His sword now equals in the world the fierce-rayed (*sun*), as first it possesses a ruddy hue derived from the minium on the frontal globes of the huge elephants of his foes meeting him in battle, and then, flaming with the brilliant lustre of his fame, it occupies all the regions with its majestic power that destroys his enemies who resemble darkness.

19. His fame wanders all around (*the world*), becoming a pearl in the ocean, appearing on the top of the snowy mountain as the heavenly Gaṅgâ, changing to the moon-light in the sky and in every quarter of the horizon to the frontal globes of the (*guardian*) elephants,[54] being visible on high, above the temples, as a white flag and on the sands of every river in the shape of royal swans.

20. Though the dread Kali age oppresses the world, there arose—when justice became incarnate in him—the idea that the original Kṛita age had begun in that town (*of his*) which is adorned with round and square wells and tanks, with temples of the gods and monasteries having gardens and alms-houses[55] attached, which shows a pleasing prosperity, and which is joyful with most virtuous men.

21. He presented to the Brâhmans, by grants, sacred villages which are inhabited by very wealthy people, on whose fields corn is plentiful, which are pleasant through neighbouring groves of excellent trees, and are situated on the banks of pure rivers.

22. The pleasant, holy river Kaṭha was conducted by him, who showed it the way to his town, just as Gaṅgâ (*was brought down from heaven*) by Bhagîratha.

[52] This is the feminine of the word *Aṇahila*, which forms the first part of Aṇahilapâṭaka or Aṇhilvâḍ. The masculine occurs also as Aṇahila in the Valabhî inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 76.

[53] I am afraid *durbhagâ* is put in order to make a most indecent pun. At all events the poet is guilty of *grâmyatva*.

[54] The elephants guarding the quarters are white, just like the fame of Lalla.

[55] *Sattra* means here *annasattra* or *sadâvrata*, see also below, verse 26.

23. His wife became she, who is born from a pure ocean-like family (*and therefore*) resembles Lakshmî, the wife of Madhusûdana rising from the pure ocean, her ancestral home,—she who is a snow-shower to the lotus-thicket of the faces of all the (*other*) ladies of (*her husband's*) harem,[56] and who even according to her appellation is a second Lakshmî.

24. She, being endowed with virtues and affectionate, charmed the heart of her husband by her devotion and her modest humility; for their pleasing mutual affection is even as high grown as that of Hara and of the Daughter of the Mountain *Pârvatî*).

25. In parks, gardens, wells and temples of the gods her (*good*) works have been performed, are ever being performed.

26. Crowds of Brâhmans dine every day in the alms-houses maintained by her, who is compassionate towards the distressed, the helpless and the decayed.

27. Thus it was resolved by those two (*Lalla and his consort*) through whose increasing acquisition of merit the manners of the Kali age disappear; the one of them built this temple of the god who wears the moon on his head, and the other that of the Daughter of the Mountain.

28. Whose heart does not this pair of temples fill with wonder, the splendour of which equals that of two high tops of Kailâsa, which is on high white with stucco (*and*) by whose numerous flags, agitated by the wind, the cloud banks are shaken?

29. As long as the breast of the destroyer of Mura is decked with the Kaustubha jewel, as long as the head of Śambhu is adorned with the crescent of the moon, as long as all the oceans exist, so long may this (*source of*) fame remain firm on earth.

30. Victorious be here on earth Lalla, the chief hero of the Chhinda race, together with his most virtuous consort Lakshmî,—he who in every battle has written a eulogy (*of himself*) on the firmament even with his sword, the tip of which is covered by the muddy ichor of his enemies' elephants.

31. May holy Devî[57] who destroys misfortunes of various kinds, be ever present to (*grant*) welfare in the palace of the illustrious Lalla, the ruler of a province, who is united with his children, wife, dependants and friends.

32. The excellent land connected with the Mayûtâ of Bhûshaṇa[58] has been presented to the two deities, having been given the name Devapallî.

33. And for the purpose of the worship and of the repairs, illustrious Lalla of good fame has granted by a charter, after (*making*) a (*solemn*) donation, to Śiva and his consort one-fourth of his revenues.

34. There was a *Bhaṭṭa* of befitting conduct, called Śivarudra, born in the famous line of the sage Vatsa. By his son Nehila has been composed this new eulogy, the poetry of which is perspicuous.

35. This perspicuous and simple wreath of verses of his, which is the cause of exceedingly great joy, which possesses true poetical ornaments and is lovely through the

[56] *i.e.*, who surpasses her rivals in beauty or, to use the oriental phrase, *blackens* their faces like a snow-shower the water-lilies.

[57] Devî, *i.e.*, Pârvatî.

[58] The Mayûtâ of Bhûshaṇa has not been identified. Possibly it may be the town or suburb of the capital, mentioned above in verse 10.

description of the pure virtues of illustrious Lallah, glitters in the hearts of the learned like a string of pearls.[59]

36. And this (*eulogy*) has been written by the son of Vishṇuhari, a Gauḍa clerk,[60] called Takshâditya, who knows crooked letters.

37. And it has been incised by Somanâtha, the son of Kâmadeva, who came from Kanyakubja and is experienced in (*work performed with*) the chisel.

One thousand years, 1049, Mârga, dark half 7, on a Thursday.

XIII.—A VALABHÎ GRANT OF DHRUVASENA III. DATED SAMVAT 334.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

Like the Râshṭrakûṭa grant published above,[1] the original of the subjoined grant was found at Kâpaḍvaṇaj in Gujarât. The document is inscribed on the inner sides of two copper-plates with raised rims. Each plate measures 1′ 3″ by 10¾″. The right-hand ring has been lost. The left-hand ring, which bears the seal, is of irregular shape and about ⅓″ thick. The oval seal measures 2″ by 2½″ and bears—in relief, on a countersunk surface—a seated bull facing the left and below it the legend श्रीभटार्कः. Both the plates and the seal are in a state of almost perfect preservation.

The grant is dated "from the victorious camp pitched at Siri-Simmiṇikâ," which looks like a Prâkṛit name. The inscription gives the usual genealogy down to Dhruvasena III. and records that the latter granted the village of Paṭṭapadraka, which was situated in the Dakshiṇa-paṭṭa of the Śivabhâgapura-vishaya,[2] to the Brâhmaṇa Bhaṭṭibhaṭa, the son of Bappa, a native, inhabitant and *chaturvedin* of Mahichhaka, who belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and studied the *Vâjasaneya-śâkhâ*. The name Mahichhaka, which occurs twice in the grant, seems to be a later correction in somewhat different characters. The *dûtaka* was the *pramâṭṛi* Nâga,[3] and the document was written by the chief secretary (*divirapati*) Anahila,[4] the son of the chief secretary Skandabhaṭa,[5] who was "charged with peace and war" (*saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita*). The date of the grant[6] was the 9th day of the bright half of Mâgha of [*Gupta*-]Saṁvat 334 or 653-54 A.D.

[59] I am unable to render the pun in *hṛidaye*, which, if referred to the string of pearls, means 'on the heart' or 'on the breast;' if referred to the verses 'in the heart' or 'in the mind.'

[60] *Karaṇika* 'clerk,' *i.e.* Kâyastha, is derived from *karaṇa*, which means both 'a written document' (see the *Petersburg Dict. sub voce*) and 'a Government office.' The latter meaning may be gathered from Hemachandra's commentary on his *Yogaśâstra*, III, 127: यथोचितं स्थानम् । यथोचितमिति । यदा राजा तदा धवलगृहं यदामात्यस्तदा करणं यदा वणिगादिरापणमिति ॥

[1] *Ante*, p. 52.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 76.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 79, where the reading of the facsimile is श्रीनाग, not श्रीना ॥ as the transcript has it.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 76, and vol. XI, p. 306.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, pp. 17, 45f., and vol. VII, p. 73.

[6] According to Professor Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 337, note 10, and vol. XVII, p. 197, note 50), an unpublished grant of Dhruvasena III. is dated in Saṁvat 332. The reign of Dhruvasena III. is limited by the latest date of his predecessor Dharasena IV. (330) and by the date of his successor Kharagraha II. (337).

TEXT.

PLATE I.

[L. 1.] श्रीं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् सिरिसिम्मिणिकावासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशत -

[2.] लब्धप्रतापाव्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्क्कादव्यवच्छि -

[3.] न्नराजवङ्शाम्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस -

[4.] त्वनिकषः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसहतिः[7] सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्व -

[5.] र्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यगांभीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिचिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणव -

[6.] दपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल[:×] प्रार्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्री -

[7.] गुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रि -

[8.] तः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशीक्षा[8]विशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपा -

[9.] कर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपा -

[10.] र्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ग्रातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशो -

[11.] भासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरांसपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितल -

[12.] वेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगांभीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपति -

[13.] पथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिः धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः

[14.] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्ग्रातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञा -

[15.] संपादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन् खेदसुखे[9]रतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि

[16.] परावज्ञाभमान[10]रसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृत -

[17.] निखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्न्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्वेषैरन[ा×]मृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्र -

[7] Read ०संहतिः.
[8] Read ०शिक्षा०.
[9] Read ०सुख०.
[10] Read ०ज्ञाभिमान०.

[18.] ख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्र -

[19.] हस्तस्य तनयः तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमन><परितोषातिशयः सत्वसपदा[11] त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुस -

[20.] न्धानाशमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोरचरित[12]गह्वरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिर -

[21.] [कृ]त्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदंडविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदयः

[22.] स्वधनु><प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः तस्यानुजः तत्प[ा*]दा -

[23.] नुद्ध्यातः सच्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विणयाणा[13] मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृढ्वगु -

[24.] णानुरागनिर्ब्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान् निर्व्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्कः कुमुदनाथः

[25.] प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वस्तिताध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितः सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवंतमतिबहुतिथ -

[26.] प्रयोजनानुबंधमागमपरिपूर्णवदधानः[14] सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददहुण -

PLATE II.

[27.] वृद्धिविधानजनित[संस्का]रः [सा]धूनां राज्यसालातुरीय[15]तन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवा -

[28.] नप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशम[16] स्थिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहित'-

[29.] भुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणिक -

[30.] षणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षा -

[31.] लिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्व्वसुन्धरायाः कार्म्मुके धनुर्व्वेद इव संभावितशेषलक्ष्य -

[32.] कलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्गधृतचूडारत्न[ा×]यमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरच -

[33.] क्रवर्त्तिश्रीधरसेनस्तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्यस्य शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाङ्गजन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावयवकल्पितप्रणतेरतिधवलया दूरं तत्पा -

[34.] दारविन्दप्रवृत्तया नखमणिरुचा मन्दाकिन्येव नित्यममलितोत्तमाङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्यैव राजर्षेर्द्दीक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिम्ना य -

[11] Read सत्त्वसंपदा.
[12] Read ०लोकचरित०.
[13] Read विषयाणां.
[14] Read ०पूर्णं विदधानः.
[15] Read ०शालातुरीय०.
[16] Read प्रशमी.

[35.] शसा[17] वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि यामिनीपतेर्व्विडम्बिताखण्डपरिवेषमण्डलस्य पयोद-श्यामशिखरचूचुकरुचिरसह्यविन्ध्यस्तनयु -

[36.] गाया: क्षितेऽपत्यु: श्रीडेरभटस्याङ्गज: क्षितिपसंहतेरनुरागिण्या: शुचियशोङ्शुकभृत: स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यश्रियमर्प्पियन्त्या × क[18]-

[37.] तपरिग्रह: शौर्य्यमप्रतिहतव्यापारमानमितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डलाग्रमिवावलम्बमान: शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिल[19]-

[38.] मुखबाणासनापादितप्रसाधनानां परभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहण: पूर्व्वमेव विविधव-र्णोज्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासितश्च -

[39.] वण: पुण:[20] पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालङ्कारेणालङ्कृतश्रोत्र: परिस्फुरत्कटकविकटकोटपत्तरत्नकिरण-मविच्छिन्नप्रदानसलिलनि -

[40.] वहावसेकविलसन्नवशैवलाङ्कुरमिवाग्रपाणिमुद्वहन् धृतविशालरत्नवलयजलधिवेलातटायमा-नभुजपरिष्वक्तविश्व -

[41.] भर: परममाहेश्वर: श्रीध्रुवसेन × कुशली सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोऽपुण्याप्यायनाय

[42.] महिछ[क]विनिर्गतमहिछकवास्तव्यैतत्तातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारि-ब्र[।×]ह्मणबप्पपुत्रभट्टिभटाय

[43.] शिवभागपुरविषये दक्षिणपट्टे पट्टपद्रकग्राम: सोद्रङ्ग: सोपरिकर: सभूतवातप्रत्याय: सधान्य-हिरण्यादेयस्सद -

[44.] शापराधस्सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकस्सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय: पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयरहित: भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना -

[45.] चन्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन: पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण धर्म्मदायो निसृष्ट: यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्म -

[46.] देयाग्र(।)हारस्थित्या भुंजत: कृषत: कर्षयत: प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्ग्रासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागा-मिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्दृश -

[47.] जैरन्यैर्व्वा स्वनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दा-योनुमन्तव्यऽपरिपालयितव्यश्चेत्यक्त[21]-

[48.] च ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि: [।×]। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्दत्तानि धर्म्मायतनीक्त -

[49.] तानि [।×] निर्ब्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि [तानि×] को नाम साधुऽपुनराददीत [॥×] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: [।×] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥×] दूतकोत्र प्रमातृश्रीनाग:

[50.] लिखितमिदं संन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभटपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीमदनहिलेनेति ॥ सं ३०० ३० ४ माघ शु ८ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

[17] Read यशसा.
[18] Read ०श्रियमर्पयन्त्या: क्त०.
[19] Read ०शिलो०.
[20] Read पुन:.
[21] Read ०श्चेत्युक्त०.

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Oṁ. Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Siri-Simmiṇikâ From the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭârka, who had obtained majesty by hundreds of battles[22] fought in the vast territories, which were held by the matchless army of the Maitrakas; who had prostrated their enemies by force[23]; who had gained the devotion of those whom he prostrated by his majesty, by his impartiality (*in conferring*) presents and honours; who had acquired the splendour of royalty by his devoted army (*which consisted*) of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and men employed in posts[24]; and whose royal lineage was uninterrupted,—(*there descended*) the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Guhasena, all whose sins were washed away by his prostrations at the lotus-feet of his father and mother; who, ever sword in hand from his infancy, brightened the touchstone of his courage by splitting the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes; the rays of whose toe-nails mingled with the splendour of the crest-jewels of the enemies whom he had prostrated by the power of that (*courage*); who (*made*) the word "king" (*râjan*) true to its meaning by delighting (*rañjana*) the hearts of his subjects through careful observance of the conduct prescribed in all *smṛitis;* who surpassed Cupid in beauty, the moon in splendour, the king of mountains in firmness, the ocean in profundity, the preceptor of the gods in wisdom, and the lord of treasures in wealth; who, in his readiness to grant safety to refugees, scattered as trifles all (*the riches*) gained by his (*warlike*) deeds; who made the loving hearts of his learned friends rejoice by granting them more riches than they desired; and who appeared to be an incarnation of the delight of the vast circle of the whole world.[25]

(L. 7.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dharasena, all whose sins were washed away by the flood of the waters of the Gaṅgâ, which flowed from the cluster of rays, (*that issued from*) the toe-nails of (*his father*); whose wealth was lived upon by hundreds of thousands of loving (*servants*); whom attractive virtues[26] approached impetuously, as if it were out of a desire for his beauty; who astonished all archers by his natural ability and excellent training; who preserved the meritorious gifts made by former princes; who drove away the plagues which oppressed his subjects; who demonstrated (*the possibility of*) the co-existence in one person of prosperity and wisdom; whose valour knew how to enjoy the prosperity of the party of his united enemies; and who obtained pure royal splendour by his valour.

(L. 10.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Śîlâditya, who meditated at the feet of (*his father*); who covered the whole horizon with the multitude of his wonderful virtues, which made the whole world rejoice; who carried a heavy burden of serious projects on the pedestal of his shoulders, the splendour of

[22] The earlier Valabhî grants read संप्रहार 'battle' for प्रहार 'blow.'

[23] The last translator of the above passage has been Professor Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 329). Regarding his translation I venture to observe, that it seems easier to connect the genitive मैत्रकाणां with बल, than with the more distant मण्डलाभोग.

[24] On these technical meanings of *maula, bhṛita* and *śreṇî*, see the Hon V. N. Mandlik's note, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XI, p. 346.

[25] The last sentence might also mean: "who (*gives*) delight to, as the traveller (*takes*) delight in, the vast circle of the whole world."

[26] On the *âbhigâmikâ guṇâḥ* see *Jour. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 348.

which was increased by the flashing of his sword, that possessed the lustre of victory in hundreds of battles; who was easily pleased by everybody even through a trifling *bon mot*, although his mind was refined by the study of the higher and lower branches of all sciences; whose noble nature was well shown by his extremely virtuous conduct, although the profundity of his heart was unfathomable by the whole world; who acquired great fame by purifying the deserted path of the princes of the *Kṛita-yuga*; and whose second name Dharmâditya arose from (*the fact that*) his enjoyment of an abundance of wealth and pleasure was made still more resplendent by his never obstructing the law (*dharma*).

(L. 14.) His younger brother was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha, who meditated at the feet of (*his elder brother*); whose excellent character was not troubled by fatigue or love of pleasure, while, like a noble bullock, he bore the royal dignity,—which his elder brother, who resembled (*Indra*) the elder brother of Upendra (*Vishṇu*) himself, had most respectfully placed on his shoulders, though it (*viz., the royal dignity*) was a desirable object,—merely because his only pleasure was to fulfil his (*viz., his elder brother's*) commands; whose mind was untouched by the feeling of contempt of others or of pride, though his foot-stool was covered with the splendour of the crest-jewels of hundreds of princes, whom he had subdued by his great power; towards whom even those enemies, whose manliness and pride were notorious, found no other means of action than submission alone; who forcibly stopped all the coquettish ways of the Kali (*yuga*) by the collection of his pure virtues, which gave delight to the whole world; whose noble heart was untouched by all the sins which overcome low people; and who proclaimed his obtaining the first rank among heroes by wooing to himself the prosperity of a crowd of hostile princes by his famous manliness and extreme skill in weapons.

(L. 19.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dharasena, who meditated at the feet of (*his father*); who gave immense delight to the minds of all learned men by his mastery of all sciences; who, by great courage and noble liberality, broke the axles of the desires (literally, *the vehicles of the minds*) of the party of his foes in such a way that there was no hope of repair; who was very kind-hearted, though he had thoroughly studied the most secret branches of many sciences, arts and chronicles of the world; whose ornament was the splendour of unfeigned modesty and courtesy; who destroyed the rising pride of all his adversaries by the long staff of his arm, which was able[27] to carry off the banner of victory in hundreds of battles; and whose commands were received with joy by the whole circle of princes, whose pride of skill in weapons had been conquered by the strength of his bow.

(L. 22.) His younger brother was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena, who meditated at the feet of (*his elder brother*); who surpassed all former princes by his good deeds; who, like an incarnation of manliness, conquered even such countries as were difficult to be conquered; who, like Manu himself, was resorted to by subjects, whose minds were full of affection on account of his high virtues; who, (*like*) the moon, possessed all arts (*or digits*), was full of splendour and caused delight, (*but*) who was free from sins (*or spots*); who, (*like*) the sun, destroyed the

[27] The author seems to have formed *pratyala* from the root *al*, which the compilers of the *Dhâtupâṭha* had invented in order to explain the derivation of *alam*.

dense darkness in (*all*) quarters, which were covered by his great splendour, (*but*) who was rising continually; who was versed in both the sciences of government and of Śâlâturîya (*i.e., of Pâṇini*), as he inspired in his subjects perfect trust, which was useful, connected with various purposes and full of profit, as he knew how to decide about peace, war and encampment, as he gave the correct order in the proper place, and as he caused good people to thrive by making virtue prosper [28]; who, though very brave, had a merciful heart; who, though learned, was free from pride; who, though handsome, was full of calmness; who, though constant in friendship, cast out the sinful; and whose famous second name Bâlâditya (*i.e., the morning-sun*) was made true to its meaning (*by the fact that*) the world was pervaded by the affection (*or redness*) of men, which was produced at his rise.

(L. 29.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the supreme lord, the lord of great kings, the supreme ruler, the emperor, the illustrious Dharasena, who (*like Śiva*) bore the crescent of the moon on his forehead, as the latter was marked with a scar that was produced through his rubbing the earth, while prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of (*his father*); who, even in his infancy, was distinguished by sacred knowledge, which was as pure as the glittering pearl-ornaments that were fixed in his ears; the tips of whose lotus-hands were moistened with the water (*sprinkled*) at donations (*as the tip of the trunk of an elephant with the rutting-juice*); who gave great delight to the earth, as to a maiden, by imposing light taxes (*or by taking her soft hand*); who, with his bow, seemed to be (*an incarnation of*) the science of archery, as he hit all sorts of aims; and whose commands resembled the crest-jewels which were borne on the heads by the crowd of his bowing vassals.

(L. 33.) The son of his grandfather's brother, the illustrious Śîlâditya, was the illustrious Ḍerabhaṭa, [29] whose head was continually purified by the extremely bright splendour which widely issued from the jewel-like nails of the lotus-feet of (*his father*), when he performed prostrations with his body, which was bent in reverence, just as the head of Vishṇu's son (*is purified*) by the Gaṅgâ (*which issues from the toe of his father*); who possessed the courtesy (*or the southern region*) of the royal sage Agastya himself; who imitated the unbroken circle of the halo of the lord of the night (*i.e., the moon*) in the sky by the extremely bright girdle of his fame, which adorned the nymphs of the quarters; and who was the lord of the earth, whose breasts, (*viz.*) the Sahya and the Vindhya (*mountains*), are adorned with (*black*) nipples, (*viz.*) with peaks, which are darkened by clouds.

(L. 36.) His son is the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena, who has wooed the loving assembly of princes, which wore bright fame as a white garment, and which handed to him the splendour of royalty as the garland at a "self-choice" (*svayaṁvara*); who, in autumn, depending on his valour, which was as irresistible as his sword, that had subdued the territories of fierce enemies, has lawfully taken the hand of (*or levied taxes from*) foreign countries, which were conquered by the

[28] The second meaning of this passage is as follows:—"As he made an affix following roots or crude forms (Pâṇini, III, 1, 2), significant (Pâṇini, I, 2, 45), (*joined with*) indicatory letters for various purposes and completed by an augment, as he knew the truth about euphonic rules, analysis and composition, as he put the correct substitute in the place (*of another*), and as he caused the formation of correct (*words*) by the performance of *guṇa* and *vṛiddhi*."

[29] डेरभट (*not* ईरभट) seems to be the correct form of the name;—see the facsimiles, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, page 211; vol. VII, p. 78.

bow (*of Cupid or of the king*), on which the arrow had been forcibly pulled back; whose ears are again ornamented with jewels, which seem superfluous, as his ears have been already adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds (*or colours*); the tip of whose hand (*is resplendent*) with the rays of the jewels, which cover his gleaming bracelet, and resembles a fresh sprout of (*the aquatic plant*) *śaivala*, as it glitters with the masses of water, which he is continually sprinkling at donations;[30] and who has embraced the earth with his arm, which resembles the coast of the ocean, that wears an armlet of large pearls.

(L. 41.) (*He*), being in good health, issues (*the following*) command to all: "Be it known to you, that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of my mother and father, I gave with a libation of water to the Brâhmaṇa Bhaṭṭibhaṭa,[31] the son of Bappa, who comes from Mahichhaka, dwells at Mahichhaka and belongs to the *chatuṛvedins* of this (*place*), to the *gotra* of the Kauśikas and to the school of the Vâjasaneyas, the village of Paṭṭapadraka, in the southern division (*dakshiṇapaṭṭa*) of the district (*vishaya*) of Śivabhâgapura, as a meritorious gift, with the *udraṅga, uparikara* and *bhûtavâtapratyâya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding grants previously made to temples and to Brâhmaṇas, according to the mode of *bhûmichchhidra*, to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the mountains, and to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons and (*further*) descendants. Wherefore, nobody shall cause obstruction to him if he enjoys (*this village*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*) according to the usual rule relating to *agrahâras*, which are given to Brâhmaṇas. And future gracious kings of our lineage or others shall assent to this our gift and shall preserve it, recognizing that the royal dignity is very transient, that human life is unstable, and that the reward of a gift of land is common (*to all kings*)."

(L. 47.) And it has been said: [*Here follow three of the customary imprecatory verses*].

(L. 49.) The messenger for this (*grant was*) the *pramâṭṛi* Śrî-Nâga. This was written by the Chief Secretary Śrîmad-Anahila, the son of the Chief Secretary Śrî-Skandabhaṭa, who was charged with peace and war. Saṁ[vat] 334, on the 9th of the bright half of Mâgha. (*This is*) my own handwriting.

[30] The second meaning of this passage is as follows: "(*who resembles an elephant*) the tip of whose trunk (*is resplendent*) with the rays of the wings of the insects, which cover his gleaming tusk-ring, (*and bears*) fresh sprouts of *śaivala* (*plants*) which glitter, as they are continually sprinkled with masses of rutting-juice."

[31] In a notice published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (vol. I, p. 138), I suggested that the Bhaṭṭibhaṭa of the present inscription might be identical with the author of the *Bhaṭṭikâvya*, which was composed, "while king Śrî-Dharasena ruled at Valabhî." This identification, however, is at the least very doubtful, as in the inscription Bhaṭṭi's father is called Bappa, while Jayamaṅgala's *ṭîkâ* calls him Śrîsvâmin.

XIV.—INSCRIPTION IN THE DEHLI MUSEUM.

By Prof. J. Eggeling, Ph.D., Edinburgh.

The inscription, of which the following transcript and translation has been prepared, is now in the Dehli Museum, and is said to have been found in a well at Sarban, about five miles to the south of Dehli,—the Sâravala or Sârabala of the inscription. It is on a rectangular black slab measuring 17 inches by 11, of which the inscription covers 15½ by 10¼ inches. It consists of 16 verses written in 18 lines—the last containing only 6 aksharas of the date, and is in almost perfect preservation; the letters well formed. It belongs to the time of the Sulṭân Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (A.H. 725—752) and is dated V. Saṁvat 1384, Phâlgun Su. di. 5th, Tuesday, which, if intended for the current year, would fall in February 1328 A.D., and records the construction of a well at the village of Sâravala by two brothers—Khetala and Paitala. The date is first given as reckoned by the Vedas (4), Vasus (8), Agni (3), Chandra (1), and then in figures—1384.

L. 1 स्वस्ति ॥ सर्वाभीष्टफलं यस्य पदाराधनतत्पराः ।
लभंते मनुजास्तस्मै गणाधिपतये नमः ॥ १
2 सत्यलो नाम वः पातु सांववत्यांवया सह ।
प्रसादाद्यस्य देवस्य भक्ताः स्युः सौख्यभाजनं ॥ २
देशोस्ति 3 हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसंनिभः ।
ढिल्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥ ३
तोमरानंतरं यस्यां राज्यं निहतकंटकं ।
चाहमाना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥ ४
जथ प्रतापदहनदग्धारिकुलकाननः ।
म्लेच्छः सहावदीनस्तां बलेन जग्रहे पुरीं ॥ ५
ततःप्रभृति भुक्ता सा तुरष्कैर्यावदद्य पूः ।
श्रीमहंमदशाहिस्तां पाति संप्रति भूपतिः ॥ ६ अपि च ॥
तस्यां पुर्यस्ति वणिजामग्रोतकनिवासिनां ।
वंशः श्रीसाचदेवाख्यः साधुस्तत्रोदपद्यत ॥ ७
लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयो 8 बभूव लक्ष्मीधरांह्रिद्वयपद्मभृंगः ।
देवद्विजाराधननिष्ठचित्तः समस्तभूतावनलब्धकीर्त्तिः ॥ ८
9 लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयौ कलिकालवाह्यावास्तामुभौ महिमवारिनिधी सुरूपौ ।
माहाभिधो निपुणबुद्धिरभूत्तदाद्यो घोकाख्य उत्तमयशा अनुजस्तु तस्य ॥ ९
माहाख्यस्याभवत्पुत्रो मेल्हानामा मनोहरः ।
देवद्विजगुरूणां यः सदाराधनतत्परः ॥ १०
श्रीधरस्यात्मजां वीरोनाम्नीं (? वीरानाम्नीं) भर्त्तृपरायणां ।

घोका विवाहयामास तस्यामास्तामुभौ सुतौ ॥ ११

[13]ज्येष्ठस्तयोः खेतलनामधेयः साधुत्वपाथोधिरनंतशीलः ।

पैतूकनामा च लघुः समस्तगुरुद्विजाराधनशीलचित्तः ॥ १२

[14]अथैतयोः खेतलपैतलाख्यसाध्वोः सदा कीर्त्तनकर्मवृद्धयोः ।

इयं शुभा सारवलाभिधानग्रामांतभूरध्यवसत्स्म चित्ते ॥ १३

[15]पितृणामक्षयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै संतानवृद्धये ।

षेतलः पैतलश्चैनं कारयामासतुः प्रहिं ॥ १४

[16]वेदवस्वग्निचंद्रांकसंख्येव्देविक्रमार्कतः ।

पंचम्यां फाल्गुनसिते लिखितं भौमवासरे ॥ १५

[17]इंद्रप्रस्थप्रतिगणे ग्रामे सारवलेत्र तु ।

चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपोयं कारकश्च सबांधवः ॥ १६

[18]संवत् १३८४ फाल्गुनशुदि ५ भौमदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.[1]

V. 1. Hail! Worship be unto that Lord of Gaṇas through constant devotion for whose feet men obtain the fruit of all their desires.

2. May he, who is called Satyala,[2] together with Ambâ and Ambavatî, protect you, that god by whose grace the faithful shall be a vessel of bliss!

3. There is a country, called Hariyâna, a very heaven on earth: there lies the city called Ḍhillikâ, built by the Tomaras,—

4. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Châhamâna kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

5. Thereupon the Barbarian Sahâbadîn,[3] having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.

6. Thenceforward that city has been in the possession of the Turashkas to this day: at present Prince Śrî Mahammad Śâhi[4] rules over it.

7. Now, in that city there is a family of merchants dwelling in Agrotaka:[5] in this family was born the Sâdhu Śrî Sâchadeva[6] by name.

8. His son was Lakshmîdhara, the bee of the lotus-pair of (*Vishṇu*) Lakshmîdhara's feet, whose mind was ever bent on the propitiation of the gods and Brâhmans, and who obtained fame by his kindness to all beings.

[1] A Devanâgarî transcript, prepared (for Mr. J. G. Delmerick) by Paṇḍit Bisasharnâth of Dehli, with an English translation by Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra, appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May 1873, p. 103 seqq. In the following notes the various readings of the Paṇḍit's transcript have been referred to after renewed careful examination of the impressions taken from the stone.

[2] This epithet (? 'the truthful one'), apparently intended here as a name for Śiva, has not been found in any Sanskrit work.

[3] Rightly identified by Râjendralâla Mitra with Sulṭân Shahâb-ad-dîn Muḥammad Ghori, A.D. 1156-1205.

[4] Muḥammad-bin-Tughlaq, reigned A.D. 1325-1351.

[5] Râj. Mitra takes this to be 'the original, or Sanskrit form, of Agrâ, the merchants or baniyâs of which place are well known all over India as the Agarwâlâ Baniyâs.' Perhaps it may be the name (derived from Agrâ) of the quarter of the town of Ḍhillî where these merchants resided.

[6] Thus the inscription reads, instead of Sâvadeva, as transcribed by the Paṇḍit.

9. Lakshmîdhara had two sons, who were strangers to the Kaliyug (*time of strife and sin*); both of them oceans of greatness, and of goodly form. The first of them was Mâha (or Mâhâ) by name, of subtile mind; and his younger brother named Ghîkâ, of highest renown.

10. Mâha had a charming son, named Melhâ, who was ever bent on propitiating the gods, Brâhmans and Gurus.

11. Ghîkâ married Śrîdhara's daughter, Vîrâ (?) by name, devoted to her husband: by whom he had two sons;—

12. The elder[7] of them, Khetala by name, an ocean of goodness, and of boundless piety; and the younger, named Paitûka, whose mind was devoted to the propitiation of all Gurus and Brâhmans.

13. Now in the thought of those two sâdhus, named Khetala and Paitala,[8] whose minds were occupied with deeds of renown, this fair piece of ground at the extremity of the village called Sâravala, was dwelling.

14. Shetala and Paitala, with the view of their deceased ancestors attaining to imperishable Svarga,[9] and for the continuation of their race, caused this[10] well to be made.

15. Written in the year countable by Veda (4), Vasu (8), Fire (3) and Moon (1), from the time of Vikramârka, on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Phâlguna.

16. In this village of Sâravala, in the pratigaṇa[11] of Indraprastha, may this well, and its author with his family, exist for a long time.

Saṁvat 1384, bright Phâlguna 5, Tuesday.

XV.—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE ANDHRA KING YAJÑAŚRÎ GAUTAMIPUTRA,

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is incised on a stone, which was originally found on the sea-shore south of the Kṛishṇâ river close to the village of China in the Kistnâ district, and is now deposited in the Madras Museum. I edit it according to two rubbings, made over to me by Dr. Burgess. It contains six unequal lines, all of which are mutilated, the lower ones more than the upper ones. The characters are of the ordinary Andhra type, but rather ornamental.

[7] ज्यैष्ठः in the inscription, is of course a mistake for ज्येष्ठः.

[8] Here, and in śloka 14, the Paṇḍit (if his transcript has been faithfully reproduced) has read the name Paituka, which Râjendralâla Mitra naturally takes to be a mere *varia lectio metri causa* for Paitûka (as the name is clearly spelt in verse 12). The inscription, however, undoubtedly has Paitala in verses 13 and 14.

[9] The inscription reads clearly अक्षयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै. What the Paṇḍit took to be an *anusvâra* (अक्षयं) is in reality the lower end of the ो of साध्वीः in the preceding line.

[10] Instead of षेतलः पैतलयैनं the Paṇḍit reads खेतलः पैतुकयैव The *anusvara* is indeed very indistinct, and is perhaps even wanting; the letter itself, however, is undoubtedly न, and not व. It scarcely needs to be remarked that the letter ख and ष are frequently interchanged; hence खेतल in verse 13, and षेतल in 14.

[11] Râjendralâla Mitra suggests that "*pratigaṇe* is perhaps a mislection of *pratigata*, in front of;" though he also remarks that "it evidently stands here for a province or a district." It is probably meant to be the Sanskrit equivalent of pargaṇa; for which one would rather expect प्रगणे or परिगणे.

The purpose of the document is not quite certain. If the syllables *dhâya* at the beginning of l. 6 are the remnant of *Budhâya*, it may have been the record of some Buddhistic donation or dedication.. The chief points of interest which it offers are the date and the expression *vasasatâya* preceding the latter. As regards the date, it is the twenty-seventh year of king Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi, *i.e.*, Gautamîputra Yajñaśrî Sâtakarṇi, who, as the *Vâyu* and *Matsya Purâṇas* assert, ruled twenty-nine years.[1] The close agreement of the figures is very remarkable, and it would seem that the Paurâṇic statement is really true.[2] As we have here quite distinctly *vasasatâya*, it becomes advisable to give up the attempt at reading the corresponding expression in Dr. Burgess' Banavâsi inscription *visasatâya*[3] and the explanation proposed there. At the same time it seems even less possible than formerly to accept Dr. Bhagvânlal Indrâjî's interpretation, who takes it to be equivalent to *varshaśatyâm*, "in the century of years." I still believe that it has the same import as the phrases *pravardhamânavijâyarâjya°* and the like, which occur so often in Sanskrit inscriptions before regnal dates,[4] and I am inclined to fall back on the translation *vaśasattâyâḥ*, which I proposed—*loc. cit* note 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

1. सिधं न[मो भ]गवतो[5] — — — [वस] रञो गीतमि -
2. पुतस अरकसिरियञसातकणिस वससताय संवछर सत[वि] - .
3. मं २० + ७ हेमतानं पखं चतुथं ४ दि[6] — — — — मं ५ एतिय
4. पुवाय अरकमहतरकेन महा[7] — — — — — —
5. याजिना महादं — — — — — —
6. धाय — — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to divine.....v a! The year twenty-seven (20+7) of the existence of the power of the king, the lord[8] Siriyaña Sâtakani, the son of the (*Queen of the*) Gautama (*race*), the fourth (4) fortnight of summer, the fifth (5) day—on the above (*date*) by the lord, the Mahataraka[9] Mahâ.e....., a sacrificer, ...to (Bud)dha (?).....

[1] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan*, p. 26.
[2] The next latest regnal year of this king in the sixteenth, see *Arch. Rep. Western India*, vol. IV, p. 79.
[3] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p, 331.
[4] *Loc. cit.*, note 4.
[5] L. 1. After भगवतो five, possibly six, letters have been obliterated. The last two seem to have been वस
[6] L. 3. The lacuna after दि has to be filled up by दि[वसं पंच]म
[7] L. 4. The slanting stroke above ह in महतरकेन seems to be accidental. The next word may be महो
[8] I take अरक to be an equivalent of Sanskrit अर्यक which has the same meaning as स्वामिन् found in the same position in other Andhra inscriptions.
[9] महतरक is probably a title and the same as the Sanskrit महत्तर.

XVI.—THE TWO PRAŚASTIS OF BAIJNÂTH,

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

[Kiragrâma or Baijnâth is a small town in the east of the Kângra district about thirty miles east of Koṭ Kângra, in latitude 32° 3′ N. and longitude 76° 41′ E., at a bend of the Binuân river—a feeder of the Biyâs and on its east or left bank. The number of old temples about the village point to its having been in early times a place of some note. Under the Katoch chiefs or Râjanakas who were tributary to Jâlandhara or Trigarta, it may have been the residence of one of them. But most of its temples are now in ruins. The two of most architectural interest and best preservation are those of Siddheśvara and Vaidyanâtha. The former, at the west end of the town, is now deserted, but consists of a four-pillared maṇḍapa and a shrine, measuring over all about 33 feet by 20, and the *śikhara* is 35 feet high.[1] It faces the east and has two doors in the back wall of the hall on each side of the shrine, to admit of its *parakrama* or circumambulation. A perforated stone window on each side of the hall helped to light it, and in a niche in the south wall has been an inscription on a slab 17″ by 14″, but scarcely a letter is now traceable. In a niche on the outside of the back or west wall is a figure of Sûrya.

The temple of Vaidyanâtha is on the north side of the village, close to the river, and stands in an irregular walled enclosure, about 120 feet from east to west, and from 60 feet wide inside at the east end to 75 at the west, with rooms for the *pûjâris*, &c., on the north and west sides, and several small temples in the court along the north side. The principal temple measures 51 feet by 31 over the base. The maṇḍapa is 20 feet square inside;[2] its roof supported by four round pillars standing on two raised benches on each side the central area. Behind this is a small ante-chamber with two pillars in antis; and beyond it is the shrine, 8 feet square inside, containing a small *liṅgam* and a number of loose images. To the entrance, on the west, is added a porch, with four columns in front, and measuring inside about 8′ 4″ in width by 6′ 6″ deep. The pillars are of early date, but in its present form this addition is probably due to Sansâra Chandra II. of Kângra (1776-1809), who thoroughly repaired and restored the temple in 1786. With the exception of the balcony windows on each side of the maṇḍapa, its walls and inner roof and those of the shrine, however, were not materially interfered with; but the outer roof of the maṇḍapa and the spire of the shrine were either largely reconstructed or covered with so thick a coating of lime, as entirely to mask the original. But whether this is the temple for which the inscription slabs of the beginning of the ninth century were engraved may possibly be questioned: the pillars and some details certainly belong tot hat period; but if there were no such inscription to influence us, the archæologist

[1] In his *Archæol. Survey Reports*, vol. V, pl. xliv, General Sir A. Cunningham has given a plan and elevation of this temple, drawn by himself, which are not correct, especially in the details most essential for estimating its age; the height of the spire above the eaves of the *maṇḍapa* is dwarfed from 21′ 5″ to 15′; the small representations of *śikharas* on the walls are neither of the modern form nor all in the positions represented; and the middle facet of the spire is elaborately carved with 'horse-shoe' or shell diaper carving, similar to that on the ruined temple of Jamadagni in the court of the temple of Vaidyanâtha. The only way one can account for the inaccuracies of this elevation is to suppose that after measuring for the plan, a rough sketch was made of the north side, with the height of the walls measured, and the details left out, or only roughly marked as reproduced in the plate. Mr. Fergusson finds serious fault with this drawing (*Ind. & East. Archit.*, p. 315n.), but mistakes the small temple of Jamadagni in his engraving (p. 316) for this temple of Siddhanâtha or Siddheśvara. The style is quite the same and they belong to the same age.

[2] Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. V, p. 178, says the *maṇḍapa* is *48 feet* square outside: this is probably a misprint for 28 feet.

might be disposed to assign the general structure to a somewhat later date. Tradition says it is the *seventh* restoration; and it seems not improbable that, when Maḥmûd of Ghaznî invested Nagarkoṭ or Kângrakoṭ in 1008, his troops may have wrecked the Vaidyanâtha temple also, and that it was, soon after, rebuilt with such important parts of the old materials as the two *praśasti* slabs and the columns. The inscriptions are on two stone tablets at the ends of the front cross aisle of the maṇḍapa,—No. I, in the south wall, measures 2′ 3″ by 2′ 4″; and No. II, in the north, measures 2′ 3″ by 2′ 5″.

In the niche in the back wall or east side of the shrine outside, is a sandstone figure of Sûrya, wearing a laced jacket, placed in a marble pedestal which is almost hidden by the ledge of the niche, but which bears on its facets an inscription (given below) dated Saṁvat 1296, and recording the dedication of an image of Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth Jaina Tîrthaṁkara. This stone must therefore have come from some Jaina temple in the neighbourhood. And in one of the small temples in the court is an image of Supârśva-nâtha, the seventh Jina.

The small temples in the court are all more or less ruined. They are now named as if dedicated to Jagannâth, Lakshmî-Nârâyana, Bhairava, Jamadagni, Narmadeśvara, and Râdhâ-Kṛishṇa, while one is nameless. In front of the porch is the usual Nandi-maṇḍapa or small canopy over the couchant bull or *vâhana* of Śiva, and behind it is a standing figure of the animal.—J. B.]

In his *Archæological Reports*, volume V, pp. 180-181, Sir A. Cunningham notices two large inscriptions which he found in 1846 in the famous temple of Śiva-Vaidya-nâtha, *vulgo* Baijnâth, at Kîragrâma or Kîrgrâon in the Kângra District of the Panjâb. He gives their date Saptarshi Saṁvat or Lokakâla 80 and Śaka Saṁvat 726, *i.e.*, 804 A.D., as well as a summary of their historical contents, and quotes two verses, I, 39, and II, 6, in full, according to the readings of Bâbu (now Râjâ) Śivaprasâda, C.S.I.[3] The ślokas given in full show clearly that the decipherer has not succeeded in overcoming the great difficulties of his task. For they contain, besides lacunæ, impossible Sanskrit forms, and metrical mistakes. Moreover the historical information extracted from the two documents is by no means exact. Dr. J. Burgess has forwarded to me a double set of paper impressions of the two inscriptions (*A* and *B*), and of late two more (*C*), made under his own superintendence, according to which I now attempt a complete edition.[4] Though the last two, one on thick and one on thin paper, have been made with great care, I find it impossible to solve all the difficulties completely. A great number of indistinct or mutilated letters occur especially in lines 1-14 and at the end of No. I as well as in the first and last lines of No. II. These defects become particularly serious on account of the difficult character of the alphabet. They frequently force the decipherer to have recourse to conjectures which in most cases can be made with great certainty. In one passage of No. I and in three passages of No. II I have failed to find the words required, while one passage in No. I remains doubtful.

The technical execution is in general very good. The characters belong to the Śâradâ alphabet, a branch of the *Brâhmî lipi*, which has been used for many centuries in the extreme north-west of India. Though our inscriptions differ in numerous

[3] See also *loc. cit.*, plate xlii, 5. Sir A. Cunningham refers to an article of Râjâ Śivaprasâda, published in the *Simla Akbar* of 1849, a periodical which is not accessible to me.

[4] A transcript of the historical portions, together with a discussion of their contents in German, has already been published at pp. 11—19 of the *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, Stuttgart, 1888. I have now been able to correct the text, given there, in various places, I, 33; II, 7, 14, 29, 31.

details from the modern Śâradâ of Kaśmîr, the type is unmistakeable. This circumstance makes the documents very interesting for the student of palæography. They are the oldest specimens of Śâradâ writing, considerably more ancient than Dr. Leitner's inscription from the reign of "king" Diddâ in the Lahore Museum and even anterior to the coins of Avantivarman of Kaśmîr. Moreover they show pretty clearly the gradual development of the Śâradâ. The initial vowels *a*, *â*, *o*, and the consonants *ka*, *ja*, *bha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, still agree with the forms of the Horiuzi and Nepal palm-leaves, and differ from the modern Kaśmîrian. The initial *e*, *ṭa*, *ṇa*, *na*, *pa* and *ba* present transitional forms, while *pha* is still more archaic than in the *Brâhmî lipi*. The remaining single letters and a number of groups are the same as in the Śâradâ alphabet. Among them the single consonants *kha*, *gha*, *cha*, *ḍa*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and *la*, the medial *ṛi*, the *Jihvâmulîya*, the *Upadhmânîya*, the groups *jñâ* and those beginning with *ṇa* and *ra*, are peculiarly characteristic of the Śâradâ. In other cases, *e.g.*, in those of the medial *e*, *ai* and *o*, and of the subscribed *ba*, we find considerable vacillations. The medial *e* is mostly represented by a thick horizontal or slightly slanting stroke as in the Śâradâ. Occasionally, however, the ancient *prishṭhamâtrâ* is used. Similarly the medial *ai* is mostly expressed by two horizontal lines, more rarely by a *prishṭhamâtrâ* and one horizontal line. Again, the medial *o* shows in the great majority of cases the peculiar wavy line of the Śâradâ alphabet, which resembles a Greek circumflex. But a few instances occur where it is expressed by *e*, either superscribed or a *prishṭhamâtrâ* plus *â*. As regards the subscribed *ba*, it shows either the peculiar form of the single *ba*, which resembles a modern Śâradâ *va*, or more rarely is hardly distinguishable from *va*. But in one case, *chumbitâḥ*, No. II, l. 3, it is exactly like the modern Śâradâ *ba*. It would lead me too far if I were here to enter on a more detailed discussion of the alphabet of these inscriptions. But the points which have been noticed will suffice to show that it possesses great interest and well deserves a separate full treatment in connexion with the characters on the Kaśmîrian coins, the inscription from the reign of Diddâ and the Champâ grant, published by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 7ff. The language of the inscription is pure and good Sanskrit, full of very rare words, which furnish some valuable contributions for the dictionary. The spelling shows very few and slight mistakes. It closely resembles that of the Kaśmîrian MSS. by the constant use of the *Jihvâmûlîya* and of the *Upadhmânîya*, instead of the *Visarga* before *ka*, and *pa*, as well as by the assimilation of the nasals to the following consonants in compound words. The spelling *prakṛiptâvanam* for *prakḷiptâvanam*, No. II, verse 15, too, deserves attention.

No. I consists of two distinctly separate parts, a hymn addressed to Śiva and Pârvatî, which, with its nineteen verses, fills lines 1-16. Then follows a new *Maṅgala*, contained in a single verse, and then only the real Praśasti which gives (1) an account of Lakshmaṇachandra the lord of Kîragrâma; (2) an account of Manyuka and Âhuka, the founders of the temple, which is also briefly described; (3) a notice of various donations made by certain other persons to the temple; (4) a notice of the masons or architects who erected the building; (5) a notice of the poet who wrote the Praśasti; (6) the date, together with a mention of the overlord, the king to whom Lakshmaṇachandra owed allegiance. No. II is of one piece. It contains (1) a *Maṅgala* of five verses; (2) a mention of the king of Jâlandhara, of the two founders of the temple, of Kîragrâma and its lord; (3) a detailed genealogy of the latter; (4) a fuller account of Manyuka

and Âhuka describing their piety and the cause which led to the erection of the temple, and naming their ancestors; (5) an account of various donations made by the founders, by Lakshmaṇachandra and by his mother, together with the usual blessing on those who uphold the grants and curses against those who seize them; (6) an account of the author of the Praśasti; (7) a notice, it would seem, of an additional donation, in prose; (8) the date. The fact that two Praśastis by the same author are found in one temple is unusual. It may be explained by the supposition that the various donations were not made at the same time. The first Praśasti, it would seem, was composed immediately after the temple had been built and the three grants, mentioned in it, had been made. Later, the lord of the village and his mother made also donations. This seems to have rekindled the zeal of the founders. They not only responded to the liberality of their masters by making some further endowments for the temple, but they also had again recourse to the skill of their poet, who now devoted still more verses to the chieftains of Kîragrâma than on the first occasion, and, of course, also duly sang the praises of the piety and liberality of his employers. This explanation is, I think, supported by some hints contained in the inscriptions. The composition of the Praśasti, which I have called No. I in accordance with Sir A. Cunningham's opinion, must be certainly assigned to the time immediately after the completion of the building, because it gives some details regarding the appearance of the latter, because it names the architects who constructed it, and because it begins with the hymn addressed to Śiva and his spouse. It was a natural idea to compose such a poem on the consecration of the new temple. Later, it would have been of less significance. These considerations, it seems to me, definitively settle the chronological order of the two poems.

If we now turn to the historical details which may be gathered from the two documents, those referring to the building of the temple are as follows. In Kîragrâma, either a large village or a small town which belonged to the kingdom of Jâlandhara (I, 39; II, 6, 16) or Trigarta (II, 10, 18) and was situated on the river Kandukâbindukâ (II, 10, the modern Binoa or Binwâ),[5] lived two wealthy merchants, Manyuka and Âhuka, who were brothers (II, 26) and members of an undivided family (I, 28). They were the sons of Siddha (I, 27, 28; II, 23) and Chhinnâ (I. 27). Their grandfather was called Kâhila, the great-grandfather Pâhila, and the father of the latter Śâhila (II, 28). Manyuka, the elder among them, had a wife, named Gulhâ (I, 28). Both were devout worshippers of Śiva (I, 30; II, 8, 9, 26, 27-29), and their zeal for their faith induced them to build a temple for an ancient *liṅga* which stood in Kîragrâma and was called Vaidyanâtha[6] (II, 25). The temple consisted of a *purî*, or adytum, and of a *Maṇḍapa* in front of that (I, 29; II, 25). It was adorned with numerous sculptures, such as the images of the Gaṇas, Śiva's celestial attendants (I. 37), and at the gates stood statues or relievos of the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ and of other divine beings (I, 29).[7] The architects were Nâyaka, son of Âsika, of Suśarmanagara, probably the modern Koṭ Kângrâ, and Ṭhoḍhuka II., son of Sammana (I, 35-37). Immediately after its consecration, the temple received various endowments which, it would seem, were chiefly destined to defray the expenses of the religious services, and perhaps of the repairs

[5] The former name is given in the Kângra *Gazetteer*, p. 21, the latter by Sir A. Cunningham. The river is a tributary of the Vipâśâ or Biâs.

[6] This is a very common appellation of Śiva, and many Vaidyanâthas are found in the most different parts of India.

[7] Compare also the description of the temple in J. Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 315-18, and wood-cut, No. 178.

of the building. The Brâhman Ralhaṇa, an astrologer of Suśarmapura,[8] son of Âsuka, gave two *droṇas* of grain "from Navagrâma" (I, 31, 32), *i.e.*, the right to that amount which had to be delivered annually by the donor's serfs or cultivators in Navagrâma. Another Brâhman, Gaṇeśvara, son of Govinda and inhabitant of Kîragrâma, made a donation of half a plough of land in Navagrâma, where he possessed a field which required four *droṇas* of seed-corn (I, 33). A rich merchant, Jîvaka, son of Depika, and Malhikâ, presented his land in Kîragrâma for the court-yard of the temple (I, 34). Later, the local chieftain Lakshmaṇachandra and his mother Lakshaṇikâ added some further endowments. The former granted daily two *drammas* out of the income of the *maṇḍapikâ*, *i.e.*, the custom-house where the transit, import and export duties were levied (II, 30), and the latter, one plough of land, situated in the village of Pralamba. Thereupon the founders of the temple likewise showed their liberality. They gave an oil-mill which they possessed in Kîragrâma, in order to provide lamps for the temple (II, 33), a shop and a piece of good land, measuring four ploughs, for the *bhoga*, the maintenance of the god (II, 34).

As regards the account of the Râjânakas of Kîragrâma No. II, verses 11-20, gives the following pedigree :—

I. Kanda.
|
II. Buddha.
|
III. Vigraha.
|
IV. Brahman.
|
V. Dombaka.
|
VI. Bhuvana.
|
VII. Kalhaṇa. — Hṛidayachandra, king of Trigarta.
|
VIII. Bilhaṇa married to Lakshaṇika *or* Lakshaṇâ.
|
IX Râma — X Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmaṇachandra married to Mayatallâ.

Kanda is twice called (II, 11, 20) emphatically the founder of the family. The former verse says of him, that he was the root (*kanda*) of an incomparable family (*kula*) which resembles a Bakula tree, and the latter speaks of the servants of the lotus-feet of the kings of Trigarta, the first of whom was Kanda. As his eighth lineal descendant ruled about 800 A.D., he must have lived in the end of the sixth century of our era, or in the beginning of the seventh. Neither he himself nor any of his successors seems to have performed great deeds. The descriptions are purely conventional. Only with respect to Ḍombaka it is hinted that he formed alliances with other kings, and regarding Bilhaṇa we learn that he married the daughter of his liege-lord Hṛidayachandra. The latter point is of some importance, as it shows that the Râjânakas [9] of

[8] Suśarmapura, which is also called Suśarmanagara, seems to have been a place of some consequence. The first part of the compound name probably refers to Suśarmachandra, the reputed founder of the dynasty of Jâlandhara, see Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, vol. V, p. 155. According to the tradition given by Sir A. Cunningham, this prince lived at the time of the Great War, and founded Nagarkoṭ or Koṭ Kângra. Hence it is extremely probable that Suśarmapura is identical with the fortress at the town which is still the capital of the Kângra District.

[9] The title *râjânaka*, literally 'kinglet,' is chiefly known from Kaśmîrian sources. The *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, VI, 261, mentions that Diddâ bestowed it on Naravâhana, one of her generals. Later it has been given to various Kaśmîrian Brâhmans, some of whose descendants still bear it.

Kîragrâma were noble Râjpûts, and, though only feudal barons, stood high enough in the estimation of the world to be thought worthy of an alliance with the royal house of Jâlandhara-Trigarta. It shows, further, that they probably possessed a larger territory than a single village or small town. This view may be supported by the somewhat indefinite statements in I, 27, and II, 20-21, where the country (*deśa*) of Lakshmaṇachândra is mentioned and the assertion is made that he enjoyed the whole territory (*bhûmi*) which his ancestors had held. Finally Bilhaṇa's marriage proves that the Râjânakas of Kîragrâma did not belong, as Sir A. Cunningham conjectures, *loc. cit.*, to a branch-line of the dynasty of Trigarta; for among Kshatriyas exogamy is obligatory in accordance with the sacred law, and marriages between members of the same family or clan are against the generally prevailing custom.

With respect to Râma, Bilhaṇa's eldest son, No. II, verse 19, states that he died early and was dead when the Praśasti was composed. The reigning prince Lakshmaṇachandra is praised also in No. I, 21-26. We are informed that he undertook a pilgrimage to Kedâra, the modern Kedârnâth in Garhwâl,[10] and on this occasion took the vow never to commit a rape on the wife of any of his subjects. This vow, the Praśasti says, he kept most faithfully, and the poet asks with a charming *naïvete*, what austerity could be difficult of performance for a prince whose heart avoided the wives of others, though youth, beauty, money and *complaisant* servants were at his command. The picture of the morals of the time, which these verses unfold, is certainly not a flattering one.

Lakshmaṇachandra's liege-lord is mentioned twice, No. I, 39, and No. II, 6. His name is not Jayachandra, as Râjâ Śivaprasâda has read it, but Jayachchandra.[11] He probably was a brother of Lakshmaṇachandra's mother, Lakshaṇikâ, and a son of Hṛidayachandra. But, however that may be, the two inscriptions certainly furnish the names of two rulers of Jâlandhara or Trigarta, who closely followed each other. The history of this dynasty, some members of which are also mentioned in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, has been discussed by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. V, p. 155ff, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 136ff. I have nothing to add to his remarks. But some identifications, such as that of Hiuen Tsiang's U-ti-to with the non-existent Atrchand,[12] have now to be abandoned.

Râma, the poet, who wrote the two Praśastis, introduces his name three times. He names himself at the end of the *Gaurîśvarastotra* (I, 18). In verses 38-39 of the same Praśasti he again says that he wrote the poem and mentions his parents, Bhṛiṅgaka and Sṛiṅgârâ. In the third passage, II, 36-37, he once more names his father Bhṛiṅgaka and adds that the latter was a poet since his earliest childhood and the *pramâtṛi* of the king of Kaśmîr. I am unable to say what the office of a *pramâtṛi*[13] was. The etymological import of the word leads one to suspect that it had to do with spiritual affairs. Regarding himself Râma states in the same passage that he was a young man when he wrote "this poem of simple meaning." In No. I, 36, he calls himself *Kavîśvara*, "a prince among poets." It is very probable that he may have earned this title in spite of his

[10] See the *Gazetteer of India, sub voce.*

[11] This seems to have been a name of more frequent occurrence. The real name of the last Râṭhor of Kanauj, who succumbed to the Ghoris, was also Jayachchandra—see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 10ff. The Jainas, too, call him Jayantachandra, using the Prakrit form of the present participle.

[12] This 'Atr Chand' seems to be the result of a mislection of the word *atulakula* in No. II, verse 11.

[13] The word occurs also in a Valabhî inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 76. But its meaning is there probably different, because it stands before a female name.

youth. Judged by the Hindu standard, he was a great poet, and no European even will dispute his great ability and learning. The fourteen verses, 2-17, of his *stotra*, which each are applicable both to Śiva and to Gaurî, and the puzzling stanza, II, 3, which describes the eight forms of Śiva in four accessory sentences, the frequent change of the metres, and the various *alaṁkâras*, found in both Praśastis, prove his great skill in versification and his mastery over the language. Numerous rare words and forms and the general correctness of his language prove that he had deeply studied grammar and knew the *Koshas* well.

The most difficult point in the inscription is that which still remains undiscussed—the date. The last verse of No. I—

संवत्सरेशीतितमे [प्र]स[न्ने] [ज्येष्ठ]स्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ च ।
[श्रीमज्ज]यचन्द्रनरेन्द्रराज्ये रवेर्दिने रामकृता प्रशस्तिः ॥

mentions the year 80 of an unspecified era and the *pratipat* or first day of the bright half of the month Jyaishṭha. Thus much may be considered certain. For, though the first two syllables of the name of the month are damaged, there can be no doubt that they were either *Jyaishṭha* or *Jyeshṭha*. As regards the last word of the first *pâda*, the only certain portions are the *sa* and the final vowel *e*, a well-formed *prishṭhamâtrâ*. The right side of the first sign is badly damaged. I can only think that it was either प्र *pra* or प्रि *pra* + *i*. The third group seems to have been *nne*, but might possibly be read *ndhe*. The word may therefore have been either *prasanne*, as I have assumed, or *prasindhe*, a mistake for *prasiddhe*, as Râjâ Śivaprasâda has read it. In either case it is an adjective, the sense of which does not affect the date. The year is thus decidedly the eightieth, and there can be no doubt that it refers, as Sir A. Cunningham thinks,[14] to the Saptarshi Saṁvat or Lokakâla, which has been used since a long time in Kaśmîr and in the adjoining Hill States. The year 80 of each century of the Lokakâla corresponds to a year 26 of the Śaka Saṁvat and to a year 4-5 of the Christian era.[15] Both Praśastis have, or rather have had, also dates according to the Śaka Saṁvat. In No. I, the Śaka date stood just below the verse quoted above. The compound *śakakâla-gatâbdâḥ*, "the elapsed years of the Śakakâla," is still faintly visible in both impressions. It is best preserved in impression B, and in the latter appears also, just below the interstice, between the ninth and tenth signs of line 33, the remnant of a numeral sign which can only have been 6 or 8. Praśasti No. II has again *śakakâlagatâbdâḥ*, and after this word three numeral signs, the first of which is clearly 7. The following two may have been 26, as Sir A. Cunningham has read them and has represented them on plate xlii, 5, of the *Archæological Reports*, vol. V. But on the impressions they are by no means certain. These data, imperfect as they are, point to the conclusion at which Sir A. Cunningham arrived, that both Praśastis have been engraved in the same year Saptarshi Saṁvat 80, Śaka Saṁvat 726, *i.e.*, 804 A.D. Unfortunately the further specification in No. I, "the first day of the bright half of Jyaishṭha, a Sunday," raises a difficulty. According to the independent calculations of Mr. J. F. Fleet and Dr. Schram the lunar day mentioned of Śaka Saṁvat 726 corresponds to May 13th, 804 A.D., which was a *Tuesday*, not a *Sunday* as stated in the inscription. I am not in a position to offer a solution of this difficulty. But I believe I may say this much, that whatever the solution

[14] See above, p. 98.

[15] See my *Kashmir Report*, p. 59, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 6ff.

may be, it will not materially alter our opinion regarding the age of the inscription. For Praśasti No. II was clearly incised after Śaka Saṁvat 700 and before Śaka Saṁvat 800, because the first of its three figures is 7.

TRANSCRIPT.[16]

L. 1. ओं [स्वस्ति ओं] नम[ो ग]णपयो[:] ।[17]
यद्यप्यहं पशुपते कुमति[द्र] एव
पर्याप्तभक्तिविव[शे]न मया त[था]पि ।
अस्यां स्तुतौ [अ]वणले[ह्यर]सांशभा[जि]
[गौ]-

L. 2. [र्य]ा सहैव परमेश निमन्त्रितोसि ॥ [१॥][18]
पा[शच्छेद]न[क]र्तरि प्र[ण]मतां मोहान्धकूपबुड -
[ल्लोक]प्रोद्धरण[क्षमे] नि[रु]पमानन्दैक[सं]दायिनि ।
दुर्गे द्वार ◡ — ◡

L. 3. हारिणि हरिब्र[ह्मा]दिदेवस्तुते
भक्तिः क्षेमविधायिनि त्रिनयने त्वय्येव न[स्खा]मिनि ॥ [२ ॥][19]
व्यापद्वल्लि[समू]ल[पा]टन[क]रो त्वं गीयसे स[र्वदा]
[मा]-

L. 4. ता [त्वं] जगतस्तवास्ति न मिति[स्खे]षां [महि]म्नामिह ।
उक्ति × केवलमेव [शो]भत इयं नो देव[मा]तेति ते
संसर्ग× पि[तृ]काननैरु[पचि]तै[रा]श्रीयते च [त्वया] ॥ [३ ॥][20]

L. 5. यस्य[ा]हिमालयो[त्कर्ष]पोषिणी [मू]र्तिरुत्तमा ।
तस्यानमन्ति चरणौ धन्या × केचन जन्तवः ॥ [४][21]
धन्यै[र्न]रैरु[य]वधूस्सदैव [त्व]मुद्यसे [भ]क्ति -

L. 6. भराभिरामैः ।
क्लेशापहारोतिमनोहराभिर्वा[ग्भि] × क[वीना]मुपगीय[से] च ॥ [५][22]
आसन्नमृत्युत्वदशामुपेयुषां पुरेषु नास्थाममरेषु कु -

L. 7. र्वताम् ।
सत्यं भवानीशरणाभिलाषिणां मनोरथं पूरयितुं प्रगल्भते ॥ [६ ॥][23]
मुहुस्समुद्रासिन एव यु[द्ध]क्रो[ड]ानिकृत्तासुरस[र्म]प[स्य] ।

[16] All letters, which are effaced or badly damaged, have been enclosed between square brackets. The numerals marking the verses are not found in the inscription.

[17] According to *A* the last words might also be read *namo gaṇapaye* ||, i. e., *gaṇapataye*. But as clerical mistakes are rare in this inscription, and as the seeming first vertical stroke after the last *akshara* is not quite regular, I prefer the reading *gaṇapayoḥ*, to which *B* and *C* point.

[18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—The *anusvâra* of °*pyahaṁ*, is not distinct. Possibly *evaṁ*. The last vowel of °*bhâji* is distinct but the *ja* is not recognisable. The second vowel of *sahaiva* is blurred. The last vowel of *nimantrito* looks like *e*.

[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The last vowel of *trinayane* has run together with the *â* of *kûpa* in the upper line.

[20] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita

[21] Metre, Anushṭubh.

[22] Metre, Upajâti.

[23] Metre, Vaṁśastha. The *anusvâra* of *upeyushâṁ* is not distinct.

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